

THE
**SOCIALIST
STANDARD**

1960

SOCIALIST STANDARD

1960, The Prospect Before Us

Acquisition and coveting are the ruling social ideas. "You have never had it so good" is an accurate and cynical summing-up of attitudes in the 1950's. This is not a triumph of higher wages and improved social conditions, it is a triumph of things over human relationships. The Commodity reigns supreme, and Humanity is hardly anywhere.

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A NEW year is beginning and what are the prospects for the workers? Let us look at the immediate past and see what that foretells. During the past year the following phrase has been dinned into us by representatives of the employing class: "You have never had it so good—and its going to be better."

We have been told that prices have risen, but wages have risen faster—and company profits have also risen. (*Daily Express*, 31/7/59.) We have read of huge company mergers, which are still going on, in which some sections of the employers have further enriched themselves.

The facts, however, do not bear out the glowing testimony, except for the class that lives by the exploitation of the workers. The constant strikes during the year for higher wages and improved conditions are evidence of this. Taking the workers as a whole, conditions are little different from what they were in 1938, in spite of the boasted "full employment," and the prospects for "full employment" continuing are growing thin. What has happened is that some sections of the workers have improved their conditions, but other sections have gone backward. There has been a levelling up and down of wages and salaries.

In spite of some reductions in hours large sections of workers find they can't make ends meet without working overtime. Overtime has become part of their necessary weekly employment, which makes a farce of reductions in hours, as overtime is now regarded in numerous instances as part of the working day.

Some workers have cars, motor-cycles, washing machines and refrigerators. This is sometimes given as an instance of how much better off workers are. But the car and motor-cycle has frequently become a necessity, either on account of the difficulty of getting to work without them nowadays, or as a necessity for the work they do. Many workers have to have cars for their work in the same way as a carpenter has to have a plane and other tools. Washing machines and refrigerators have

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also become a necessity where so many married women have to go out to work in order to keep the family going. It may be added that, although hire-purchase has generally enabled them to acquire these things, it also puts a load on their backs which is hard to remove. In spite of this, however, the large majority of workers are without motor cars, washing machines, etc.

As to employment, a pointer to the future is the programmes already being put into operation for economies in the mines, on the railways, and in the cotton and other industries. When these programmes are in full swing the effects on employment will be drastic. In the mining industry alone over two hundred pits are scheduled for closing. It is worth noting that when a nationalised industry, like the mines and railways, makes workers redundant most of them have a poor chance of employment elsewhere on a par with what they are doing at present. There are no other pits or railways to go to so they must start at the beginning in some other industry.

The boom in automation is another thing that is going to have an effect in the future on employment. The object of automation is not only to produce faster and more prolifically, but also to *save labour*. In other words, to reduce the number of workers required to produce a given quantity of goods. How far electronics will go and how soon its effects will be felt is still matter for conjecture, but the ultimate aim is the "push-button" factory—not a promising outlook for employment under present conditions.

Let us take a glance at the housing question which has been the subject of much boasting by each of the governing parties when in power.

There have been tremendous building programmes in operation during the past few years, most of them sponsored by the local councils, like the London County Council programmes, which extend far into the country. These programmes are partly subsidised by the govern-

ment and by the floating of large loans. The emphasis is on huge blocks of flats where people live like rabbits in a warren. The old argument was that under Socialism we would all be living in barrack-like buildings. Capitalism has gone one better. The country is being gradually covered with huge ugly buildings, alike in appearance, in which it is easy to get lost, and in which children have nowhere to play. Added to these are rows upon rows of small houses, alike as peas in a pod.

In spite of the building programmes there are still millions of people living in slums and near slums. Millions of them with no baths and having to share a toilet. A report in the *Daily Express* (22/6/1959) gives an indication of the position. The reason for the news item was the fact that a Mrs. Coles had given birth to quads: "Mrs. Coles husband, Albert, aged 29, is an £11 a week plumber. They live in one room in Glasgow with their four other children."

Slum clearance has been a major point in the programmes of Tory, Liberal, and Labour for over fifty years—but still the slums remain! No sooner are they cleared in one area than they begin to grow again or are transferred to another area. The reason is not far to seek. Low pay and other conditions of labour prevent a large number of people from acquiring decent accommodation or being able to keep what they have in decent living condition.

If we add to the above the possibilities of war, which are always hovering on the horizon in spite of abortive "summit Conferences," we cannot envisage the New Year holding out any brighter prospects for the workers than what they have suffered in the past, and this will continue to be the position until the workers make up their minds to abolish the cause of their miseries—the present system of Capitalist ownership of the means of production.

GILMAC.

"Penny Tenement"

It is the same old story! Despite the promises of one party after another, the housing problem is still with us. Frederick Engels was writing about it more than eighty years ago. In fact it is a problem about as old as Capitalism itself.

From the front page of *The Guardian* (23/11/59) we learn of a tenement in Edinburgh, which collapsed recently, injuring a two-year-old baby girl and her mother. Apparently the building had been known as the "penny tenement" because its original owner attempted to sell it for one penny on

being ordered to carry out repairs considered necessary for public safety. The place had been condemned *twenty years* ago as unfit for habitation.

The local Labour Party kicked up a fuss about the matter, of course, conveniently forgetting the dismal failure of the Labour Government to deal with such places during their six years of power. Yet, if we remember correctly, they were more extravagant than any other party in their 1945 election promises.

In another Scottish city, Labour-controlled Glasgow, the city architect had

to admit a few months ago that "... there is housing which ... includes some of the worst buildings in Western Europe" (*The Guardian*, 9/2/59). Apparently, in the past six years or so, they have built 30,000 houses and flats in Glasgow and in that period, their "waiting list" has grown from 100,000 to 126,000 persons.

Do not let us underestimate this problem of Capitalism. In England last year, there were over a million houses totally unfit for habitation, whilst others were falling into decay at the rate of 100,000 per year. But great though the problem is, Capitalism won't solve it—only the removal of Capitalism will do that. Unlike the "Penny Tenement," however, this crazy set-up will not just collapse. It will have to be demolished.

E. T. C.

CHINA (2)

10 years of the "Peoples" Republic

IT would be misleading to paint too dull a picture of China on her 10th birthday, for there is a small section of the population for whom every day could well be a day for celebration. Those fortunate few are the capitalists. Capitalists in "Communist" China! But why be surprised, for Article 10 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China begins as follows:—

The State protects the right of capitalists to own means of production and other capital according to law.

Perhaps the best plan would be to let one of the leading capitalists tell all about it, which he did to the Editor of *Eastern World*, April, 1957. Mr. Y. L. Kan is Managing Director of the Nanyang Bros. Tobacco Company, one of the largest companies in the country, owning a number of factories. One of the shareholders of this Company was formerly T. V. Soong, a member of the Nationalist Government who absconded to Formosa. The Chinese Government have seized his shares which makes their shareholding 40 per cent. of the stock; 35 per cent. are owned by Mr. Kan's family and the balance by 8,000 other shareholders. Mr. Kan's father was a former managing director of the Company, but the son was only appointed to his present position by the Government in 1950 on his return to China from abroad. And this is what Mr. Kan said:

Immediately after entering into joint ownership with the Government we realised that we were benefitting by that move. Production and capacity went up continuously until it reached, today, 250 per cent. the output of 1949. This has been mainly due to the incredible enthusiasm of the workers. I confess that I had never thought possible such complete change of atmosphere and such incredible improvement in output owing to this different attitude of the workers to what they, quite rightly, consider a factory of which they are part-owners. Our Company, to my astonishment, proved to be about 50 per cent. more efficient than those enterprises which had remained entirely in private hands. Also we had none of the labour difficulties or frictions with the workers as became frequent in the private sector of industry.

The account further described the luxury in which the Kans live and explains that in addition to his salary a fixed dividend of 5 per cent. is paid *free of income tax*, and this, the report adds, on his substantial holding of shares makes for considerable income, far more than the net income which would be received in the West. "I am only a managing director," Mr. Kan went on to say.

But I am also an executive member of the Chamber of Industry and Commerce, as well as on the committee of Light Industry which has to deal with the interests of 6,000 factories. Altogether there are 37,000 factories of mostly light, but some heavy industry in Shanghai, and the total number of commercial and industrial concerns amounts to 160,000.

Capitalism is capitalism all the world over, with its gulf between the exploiter and the exploited. Riches at one end of the scale presupposes poverty at the other no matter whether in China or the West. When the worker is fooled as to where his real interests are, and, as a consequence, is induced to work like a maniac, it is the capitalist who, waxing wealthy, congratulates the worker. This task of misleading the worker is made easier when by means of partial or complete nationalisation, the worker can be induced to believe that he is a partner in the enterprise and that his interests are no longer opposed to those of the exploiter.

The Indian Incident

This anniversary review could hardly be concluded without reference to the border fighting when China overran and seized part of the Indian province of Ladakh in Kashmir, in the process killing the Indian guards. These events have sometimes been presented in a sensational light as though they were the precursor of large-scale warfare. In this case the war mongers watching out for the main chance on the side lines may well be disappointed, for it is likely to be merely a matter of bargaining over a road from Khotan to Gartok in Tibet (secretly built by the Chinese for the subjugation and subsequent colonisation of Tibet) which crosses a corner of the Indian province.

The incident may prove useful to the Indian Government who seem to be using it to work up a sense of patriotism among their workers—and patriotism can be very useful in some emergencies when ruling-class interests are really threatened. And what do they stand to lose in exchange? Just a piece of barren and unpopulated land. It is the Chinese workers who have built the road and Indian workers who have lost their lives repelling the Chinese. In this system of society, whichever capitalist group succeed, it is the workers who always seem to be at the sticky end of the wicket.

No one who remembers the sheer poverty, starvation and street deaths under the old regime can deny the overall improvement in physical conditions and also in the security for the workers. Achievements in industrial construction, agrarian expansion, health, education and sanitation constitute a remarkable story. On the debit side, as the *Sunday Times* 27/1/57 says, there is bland but total suppression of freedom of thought and expression, imposed under a puritanical regime, which is mass-producing a race of robots in blue overalls.

The robots, it must be conceded, are apparently happy. "Communism" has not yet changed the innate friendliness, charm and generous human behaviour of the Chinese; maybe it has not changed their subtlety and expedient patience, either.

The Chinese have had recent experience of living under a regime of oriental feudalism. Now that they are living in Capitalism (even though some label it Communism), they can compare the two systems. With the tremendous intellectual fervour the vast upheaval has made, argument and discussion continue at high pitch. Like the British under Macmillan's Tory Government, the Chinese under Mao-tse-tung, it is claimed, have never had it so good. Certain it is, all observers agree, that Mao-tse-tung could win a free democratic election with perhaps greater ease than Macmillan's party won the last general election here. The Chinese workers, surrounded by new-fangled commodities such as radios, bicycles and tinned foods and ball-point pens that they can now buy, like their British counterparts with their televisions, scooters, cars and council flats, do not realise that exploitation goes on just the same.

When productivity increases, the workers may themselves absorb a greater amount of goods without any radical change in their state relative to that of the master class. But sure it is that the Chinese have got Capitalism whether they know it or not, and that, by-and-large, being subjected to similar economic conditions as workers in the rest of the world of Capitalism, they will develop Socialist ideas.

China, with her vast sea of people increasing by about 12 million per year, was civilised and ruled by an aristocracy of culture a millenium before the tiny speck of island now known as Great Britain was redeemed from barbarism by the Roman invaders. But in the course of time the face of the world changes and Capitalism first took root in England. The establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949 was the political event which marked the entry of that country into the world of Capitalism.

So we of the Socialist movement of Great Britain, the oldest Capitalist country in the world, in a spirit of comradeship, and breaking through the barrier of language which is perhaps more of a bar to communication than mere distance itself, give you—the youngest working-class in the world—this, our anniversary greeting coined by a Socialist a century ago:

全世界無產者聯合起來！

Workers of the world unite. You have only your chains to lose, you have a world to win.

F. OFFORD.

To the Editor



Sectarianism

While I appreciate your aims and your consistency in the struggle for Socialism, I must tell you that your party makes one fatal mistake. Since your formation when you broke away from the Communist wing just before the formation of the Communist Party you have failed to distinguish between a reformist Workers' Party and a bourgeois party. Albeit that the leaders of the British Labour Party have as much in common with Socialism as chalk has with cheese, the Labour Party is the mass party of the workers. Every true Socialist who is working for Socialism in Britain should be an active member of the British Labour Party and fighting from within to turn that party to the way of Socialism. A Socialist organisation must be an integral part of the workers' movement. I accuse the

S.P.G.B. with the deadly sin of sectarianism.
London, N.16.

R. LENNARK.

REPLY

First let us correct our correspondent's statement regarding the origin of the Socialist Party of Great Britain. Our Party was formed in 1904 by a group of Socialists who had left the Social Democratic Federation after its acceptance of a policy of reformism. The British Communist Party was founded in 1920 and at no time has the S.P.G.B. been connected with it.

Our predecessors saw the complete futility of the position our correspondent propounds. Further, our record shows quite clearly the distinction we make between the bourgeois and workers' reformist parties. At the same time we point out that attempts by the working class to realise their true interests through such parties must fail.

Such organisations, in being wholly concerned with and committed to capitalism, inevitably must abandon or reject any Socialist aims and principles. Being a reformist party it must accept the values of Capitalism. The Labour Party in fact sees no alternative to the State, private property, or the profit motive in society. In office it must seek to

further the interests of British Capitalism, regardless of whether such action is detrimental to workers in this and other lands.

The ludicrous position of a Socialist inside such an organisation can only result in his loss of identity as a Socialist and his being carried further away from his objective. If a majority of non-Socialist workers choose to support the Labour Party, or any other party, it is no justification for Socialists to do the same.

It must be obvious that there is only one party for the true Socialist and it is this party alone that is worthy of his support. For, as far as we are concerned with "deadly sins," we consider deadliest of all that which betrays the cause of Socialism by supporting non-Socialist organisations, and by doing so, supports Capitalism.

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.

March 20th
CRISIS IN AFRICA
Denison House, 7.30

Nobody Really Cares

I knocked on the door and the sounds echoed through the bare hall. After a short while, bolts were withdrawn and chains undone. The door creaked open an inch or two and Nanny H— peeped out. "Oh! It's you, Sir! Just wait while I get the money," and she disappeared into the musty back room of her ground floor flat, to reappear with money for "The Book" and a couple of extra coppers "for the good cause."

My first encounter with Nanny had occurred several years before, when canvassing a London suburb for SOCIALIST STANDARD sales. A woman in her eighties, she had a mind as alert as a person many years younger, and despite the privations of working class old age, she was never without a cheery word whenever we met. She lived entirely alone—not even a cat to keep her company.

Sometimes, I managed to glimpse the interior of her flat. It certainly bore the marks of neglect. An old mattress had been rolled tightly against one wall of the hall, and against the other stood numerous empty jars and bottles. What little wallpaper was left, hung in odd strips here and there. The drain outside in the front garden, its original purpose forgotten, was blocked with all manner of filth, and some of the window panes were stuffed with rag.

Yet Nanny herself was always neatly and cleanly dressed and managed to assume a calmness and dignity, doubtless a relic of better times. Indeed, I learned during our many doorstep discussions that she had for a number of years been employed as a nurse for the children of a wealthy family, and was now living on a small pension. With true working class humility, she was most grateful for this pittance.

Her one fear was the loss of her independence. "They want to put me in a home, Sir," she confided fiercely on one occasion, "but I won't let them." And for some time she managed to withstand efforts to this end by various social welfare visitors. But advancing age was taking its toll, and even this courageous soul could not hold out for ever. Besides, the landlord was getting mighty worried about the depreciation of his property and was making regular complaints to the local health authorities.

So into a home she went, and there she died. I had managed to visit her twice before a bout of winter bronchitis carried her off. The matron at the home allowed me to keep a portrait of her as a memento, for there was no one else to claim it. Her few relatives and previous employers had been informed of her illness and death, but had shown not the slightest interest or concern. They did not even bother to attend her funeral. She died as she had lived for many years—alone and unwanted.

Could it be argued that her's was an isolated case? It could be, but it would just not be true. The problem of old people—working class old people—has become one of the scandals of the modern world. It is well known that many are forced to lead a miserable existence after retirement. As the Royal Commission on Population has stated: "Enquiries have revealed the existence of very large numbers of old people living in most unsatisfactory conditions." The Monthly Digest of Statistics for September, 1959, tells us that of 5,340,000 persons drawing old age pensions, some 894,000 are also having to receive National Assistance grants.

Loneliness

But worst of all, it is the loneliness and hopelessness of such conditions which illustrate the essential inhumanity of our private property society. Some idea of the desolate existence which old age entails for many people is given by Trevor Howell, M.R.C.P. (Edin.). Writing in his book *Our Advancing Years* (page 18), he tells us:

It has been estimated that there are 85,000 old age pensioners over the age of 80 who live alone, as well as some 200,000 married couples over 70. Loneliness becomes one of the greatest enemies of such people. There is evidence that senile mental changes occur more readily among those old folk who live a solitary existence.

Nobody really cares very much about the "Nannies" of this world, for the appalling truth is that they are the human scrap-heap of modern industrial Capitalism. They are one of the uncomfortable problems which the politicians swear to solve when out of

office and signally fail to solve when in. The few shillings more which they were offered in the recent election manifestos of the Labour and Liberal Parties barely scratch the surface. And as for the Conservative promise that the old ones would "share in the rising prosperity of our country"—this probably meant nothing to the pensioners.

Let us face it! For the majority of us under Capitalism, old age is an insult. We have worked for the best years of our lives in the interests of a parasitic minority and at the end are told that we in our turn are parasites. Mr. Howell is quite blunt about it and tells us (p. 13) "... from the economic point of view, most old people are parasites." Thank goodness there is an alternative to a social system which condemns old people to a sordid existence, instead of the dignity which is their due.

E. T. C.



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Canals and the Growth of Industry

ACROSS the face of England, a familiar feature of the landscape, run those half-forgotten waterways, the canals. Like the railways that superseded them, and which often followed their routes, they link the vast industrial areas of the North and the Midlands with London and the seaports. They cross the lines of hills that divide river from river to make a highway from coast to coast. For many miles they are derelict and abandoned, the subject of indignant letters to the press. Weed-choked and in some cases dry, they link small towns and villages that were once centres of industry and commerce. Only between the big cities and the ports are they still busy. But even here, with their slow-moving boats and their quaint hump-backed bridges, they suggest to most people a quieter and less hectic age.

It is difficult to associate them with speed. Difficult to realise that they were once the most modern of highways. Yet for half a century the canal packet-boats were the fastest means of transport at the service of the public. Fatal accidents in the cause of speed were once quite common.

The canals were the transport system that helped to make possible the Industrial Revolution, which was under way by the middle of the 18th century. At that time the new industrial centres of the North and the Midlands were expanding fast. Liverpool, Manchester, and many other towns grew apace as the older industrial areas declined. London, Cobbett's "Great Wen," sprawled increasingly over the market-gardens that surrounded it. The need for food to feed the growing populations, and the increased profits to be obtained from its production, resulted in new methods of farming. These methods were to be as far-reaching in their effects as the steam engine.

While water-power was still the main source of power, the infant steam-engine had arrived and needed coal. The expanding towns called out for fuel, building materials, and the manufactured goods that poured from the new factories. The factories needed raw materials, ores, timber, and a host of other things. Equally important they needed carriage for their commodities to the ports and to the markets at home.

But the roads, few and far between, were in an intolerable condition, while vast areas were covered only by tracks and bridle-ways. Inadequate for centuries, they had finally broken under the weight of heavy traffic. Difficult in summer, they were almost impassable in winter. Responsibility for their upkeep rested on parish councils and local landowners, who took a parochial view of the problem. The fact that wool, England's main export for medieval times, lent itself to carriage by pack-horse had not provided an incentive to improvement. The principal means of transport was still the pack-horse train.

From Manchester to Liverpool, a distance of only 35 miles, the journey took a whole day, from London to York a week, and from London to Edinburgh 12 days.

These conditions made transport slow, difficult and dangerous; and what was more important to the Capitalist—expensive.

Josiah Wedgwood

An enthusiastic advocate of canals was Josiah Wedgwood. Creative artist and super-salesman, Wedgwood had set up his new Etruria works near Burslem in Staffordshire. Let us glance at the problems confronting him.

The high grade pottery produced at Etruria called for china clay from Cornwall and Devon, flint from Kent and Sussex, and coal. Most important, safe and smooth transport was needed for the fragile products of Etruria. Clay was pack-horsed to Bristol, carried by ship to Liverpool, and from Liverpool transported by broad-wheeled carts along the turnpike road at a rate of two miles an hour. Flint was shipped from the ports of the South-East to Hull, carried by boat on the navigable River Trent to Burton, and once again by pack-horse. Coal and lead came in by the same ancient method. One possible answer to the problem of transport was the turnpike road. But the turnpike roads were few and far between, and crudely constructed. Most of them had restrictions on heavy traffic, and insisted on broad wheels for carts. The "modern" roads of Macadam and Telford, with their fast coaches, were half a century away.

An alternative means of transport was the navigable river, which had been used from ancient times. For 150 years constant improvements had been carried out on them, but river transport had serious limitations. Currents, tides, shallows, low water in summer, and flood in winter, all hampered progress and added to the expense of transport. Mill owners and possessors of fishing rights placed weirs across rivers, which obstructed the passage of barges and caused delays. But, most important of all, rivers do not cross mountain chains or climb high ground; and Britain, being an island, has no river crossing from one side to another.

What was needed was a transport system that was free from these obstructions, and free from administrative muddle, above all, a system that would overcome natural barriers. The rivers could not supply this need, but the experience gained in their improvement and development pointed to the answer—a tideless highway, the canals.

The way of the pioneer is ever hard and the way of the canal pioneer was no exception. The Duke of Bridgewater, a wealthy landowner, who had travelled on the

Continent and seen the achievements of French and Italian canal builders, was the owner of coal-mines at Warley near Manchester. He wanted a cheap and easy method of bringing coal to his nearest market, Manchester, and he decided that a canal was the answer. He secured the services of James Brindley, a millwright and an experimentalist with steam engines. Brindley, semi-literate, but with unusual ability, was to canal construction what Stevenson and Brunel were to the later railways. Work began on this project in 1759, and two years later the first coal boat sailed into Manchester. The price of coal dropped immediately from 7d. a hundredweight to 3½d. A second project to extend the canal to Liverpool began, and the "Canal Age" had arrived.

Canal Mania

Before this second canal was finished a much more ambitious scheme began, the Grand Trunk Canal. Moving South from Manchester, this was to become the main trunk from which the branches were to cover the country.

When the first canal was begun capital was hard to obtain; and to finance his second—the Manchester-Liverpool canal—Bridgewater had to mortgage his first. But as the canals slowly advanced interest in them grew, and a wave of speculation culminated in the "Canal Mania" at the end of the century, when unsound schemes, many of them doomed from the start, were given eager backing.

The construction of canals presented great problems, and the lessons learned in solving them were invaluable to the later railway and road builders. Reservoirs were needed to supply the canals with water and bridges, locks, aqueducts and extensive tunnels were made to carry the canals.

As the canal advanced, its impact on the country through which it passed was immense. Often 2,000 workers would be employed in an area, and the problem of supply was vast. These "Inland Navigators" or navvies, as they became known, were usually rough characters, and disrupted the settled life of the towns and villages in the path of the canal. When they had passed on, the silent highway that they had created had changed

the country beyond recognition. Villages once isolated were now on the main highway, and grew as industry followed in its wake. New canal towns, like Stourport came into being whilst old river ports sank into obscurity.

The packet boats

Although the prime need was the transport of heavy goods, passenger transport and delivery of packages became an important part of the canal trade. The packet boats, the "expresses of the canals," were specially constructed to enable them to travel fast on a narrow canal. They were pulled by two horses ridden by a postillion, the horses being changed at 4 to 6 miles intervals. They kept up an average speed of 8 to 10 miles an hour for many hours, had 1st and 2nd class cabins, and ran to a strict timetable. Some were heated by hot-water pipes. The packet boat had the right of passage, and all other craft had to give way. It was dangerous not to, for they tore along with complete disregard of any other traffic on the canal. One of the most famous, the "Duchess Countess," mounted a curved knife on the bows to sever the tow rope of anything not giving way.

The decline of the canals began in the 1830's, when competition from the railways began to make itself felt. The faster and more comfortable trains rapidly drew passenger traffic away from the canals; and the packet boat, like the stage coach, disappeared in a decade. The application of steam to shipping made coastal travel quicker and safer, and this finished canals, which had been specially constructed to reduce sea travel. The decline was hastened by the canal companies themselves. For half a century they had held a monopoly, and had exploited their position in a manner common to monopolists. Like the River Navigation Boards before them, and the railway companies after, they failed to take action that could have postponed their decline.

Nothing illustrates better the headlong rush forward of Capitalism than the story of the canals. Beginning in the mid 18th century—ultra modern and with far-reaching effect—within a lifetime they were obsolete.

DALE.

50 Years Ago

ON THE LABOUR PARTY

The Labour M.P.'s cannot be completely separated from the Liberals in politics, for their political independence is non-existent. "My Budget," says Mr. Lloyd George. "My Budget," says Mr. Philip Snowden. They are "wholeheartedly" for the Capitalists' Budget. And it is amusing to find them trying to assure the murmuring rank and file that no understanding with the Liberals exists, in face of the withdrawal of "Labour" men in favour of Liberals, and of Liberals in favour of "Labour" men. One does not, of course, expect to

find a written compact. It might become awkward evidence while, as the *Times* says, "With friends who understand each other so well, it is unnecessary." Quite so. The compromise of the last General Election, in fact, is being repeated on a more complete scale.

The legislatively impotent "Labour" members claim as theirs measures passed by the Liberal majority, and are now engaged in booming the bogus agitation over the Lords and the Budget, and in rallying the workers once more to the support of the Liberal section of the exploiting class.

That there is no Socialism in the "Labour" group is proven by the welcome given them by the anti-Socialist Liberals.

Mr. Churchill said:

"Don't let there be any division in our ranks at this juncture. I know that the Lords and their backers are counting on divisions between Liberal and Labour. But I think they are likely to be a little bit mistaken."

From the SOCIALIST STANDARD, Jan., 1910.

Meetings DOCUMENTARY FILMS

Every Sunday see page 15

SOCIALIST STANDARD

Journal of SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

JANUARY 1960

HOPES FOR 1960

WHETHER it is reasonable to hope for small blessings in 1960, or wiser to fear the worst, depends in some measure on the view taken of 1959. Well, what did happen in 1959? First, the too-obvious happening, which no newspaper or radio commentator ever mentions, that nine workers out of ten just went on working. They were glad to have had the chance, glad that they didn't lose their jobs and glad if nothing happened that forced them to strike. They did it for a living and they are glad to go on doing so: they hope their luck will hold out for another 12 months.

Among their troubles in 1959 was being preached at and moralised about by the rich, the learned and the famous; who told them they ought to work harder, stay away from work less, be more thrifty, spend less on drink, tobacco and gambling, and generally to behave themselves in a way that will do credit to their British masters when the latter are showing them off to V.I.P.'s from Russia and other foreign countries. There is not a chance that this will end in the year now beginning and anyway most workers do not even think of the possibility that it could end; their hopes are more modest. They are told they have never had it so good and that it is going to get better in the next twenty years or so, but in the next twelve months most of them would settle for a lot less. Mr. Peter Townsend, research fellow at London University, got together a few facts in the *Sunday Dispatch* (29/11/59). He pointed out that there are 4,000,000 retired people and old age pensioners who cannot count on an income of much over £4 a week; and that pensioners living alone have been shown in an official survey to be spending less than 22s. a week on food; and that there are 2½ million homes without piped water and

6½ million without a bath. Perhaps by January 1, 1961, the position will be a little better—unless, as may happen, it is a little worse.

Let us say that most of the workers would deem themselves fortunate if in a year's time they are earning a little more, or working a slightly shorter week, and that prices and fares and rents have not gone up.

Of course the pleasant picture may be marred by workers having to spend still longer time waiting at bus queues or in traffic jams, but you can't have everything.

In politics the British workers decided to give the Tories another term of office because, among other things, there looked like being early high level talks between Russia, America, British and French heads of government. There is no reason at all why the workers should not hope that those high level talks will take place in 1960. They can't very well make things worse and it will mean that the countries are not at war: Though why not low level talks between the workers?

It is one of the good things about 1959 that apart from the Tibetans having been "saved" by Chinese invaders and Cuba having been "saved" by revolution, and Nehru having been caught by surprise and therefore too late to save some almost uninhabitable territory from being occupied by other Chinese soldiers, most parts of the world have been lucky enough not to have been specially saved by anyone.

We can all hope that no "national saviour" has an opportunity of shedding other people's blood in 1960. Our hopes in that direction should be shared by the 20 million refugees, homeless and unwanted, who linger on after past wars.

According to United Nations agencies nearly half the world's people were undernourished in 1959 and may hope to do no worse in 1960. Meanwhile, the American government, having been unable to sell enormous stocks of unwanted wheat, butter, etc., may hope to be able to give it away to the needy, provided other would-be sellers of surplus foods can be persuaded to give up their objections.

Turning from the likely hopes and fears of non-Socialist workers, to the hopes of Socialists, we can say that we start this year with something gained. The year 1959 saw a real improvement of the prospect for Socialist principles to make headway against those two hindrances to progress, the Labour Party, and the myth of Socialism in Russia. Both suffered crippling blows in the year just past. Here's to more of the same in 1960. And here's to the workers learning to be a lot less humble, and deciding to have Socialism.

CRISIS IN AFRICA



- ★ **Apartheid in South Africa**
- ★ **Nyasaland**
- ★ **African Nationalism**

READ THE SPECIAL MARCH SOCIALIST STANDARD

Labour's Lost Chord

AGainst all the precedents, and to the surprise of many Labour supporters, the Tories have won their third election in succession; and have even managed to increase their majority. The most interesting aspect of this was not Supermac's victory, but the changed attitudes and moods of the electorate, that were revealed more clearly than before. These changes affect the Labour Party far more than the Tories, and in some ways appear to be a major disaster for Labour, causing much heart-searching and what John Foster Dulles called "agonising re-appraisals."

In spite of high polls and a fairly steady Labour vote, something has gone from British politics, and gone for ever. This "something" might loosely be called "left-wing idealism." Where is the enthusiasm of Labour's early years; where the desire to make the world a place of dignity, free from slavery and oppression; where the striving to make man master of the machine instead of its mere adjunct. Labour in the past expressed, however incoherently, all these aspirations of a working class just out of its infancy, crying out, not for charity and mercy, but for political power with which to change the world.

The Labour Party was formed in 1906, yet despite its recent emergence (as compared with Liberal or Tory) its appeal is already fading, its policies old-hat, its ideals threadbare and increasingly lost in vague verbiage. Fifty-three years have seen the rise and decline of that sincere idealism that sent hundreds of thousands of workers onto the streets campaigning, not for "we can make 'You have never had it so good' even better," but to build a society worthy of Man's sense of his own dignity. Left-wing idealism has died, and all the trumpeting of Bevan, Barbara Castle, Mikardo and "Tribune" cannot bring it to life again. Labour today can only mimic its former styles; and the result, with even the rebels supporting H-bombs, rearmament and the trade struggle with foreign powers, sounds as hollow as an old biscuit-tin.

Labour's Lost Image

Images—religious, military, national or political have nothing precise or rational in their make-up. A political image is created by a thousand-and-one vague impressions gained from speeches, articles (and even catchy phrases remembered out of context), the personal appearance and integrity (real or assumed) of the politicians, and the manner and methods of presenting promises to the electorate. The practiced politician is aware of this, and seeks more to create a favourable image than to present a coherent political programme. The measures presented must likewise have quick appeal, the thoughtful must make way for the sensational. The image which Labour built was of the working-man turned politician who by a

judicious use of Parliament would strike a blow for the workers against the forces of exploitation and oppression. Labour became the embodiment of "Us." "Them" being not just the ruling class, but the whole Establishment, right down to the foreman. With this image Labour could rely on millions of votes from embittered workers who were never sufficiently politically aware to state any specific revolutionary aims.

In furtherance of this image, Labour became a political Father Christmas offering something to every shade of radical, reforming opinion. A political pap, made of Reformism, Fabianism, Pacifism, Nationalisation, Co-operation, Patriotism and Christianity, provided a diet for everybody—almost. This diet may not be very nourishing, but the promise of working-class victory was enough to blind many to Labour's defects. Five-and-a-half years of Labour Government helped to disillusion many, but the malaise of the Labour Party goes deeper. Times have changed, and the changed attitudes of workers are posing a big problem for Labour. It seems that in an era of full employment their message has become irrelevant. Since 1950, they have had difficulty in finding a policy that marked them off from the Tories. A rather damaging thing to say about a party whose prominent members are fond of talking about "Principles of Social Democracy"; "Public Ownership"; and "Co-operative Commonwealth." Big words, and words that are extremely obscure as used by the Labour Party. They have in any case lost a lot of their old appeal, and Labour might as well drop them.

The Rise of the "Middle Class"

It is the spread of what is called the "middle class" and its ideals that has so much changed the character of British Politics. "Middle Class" is not a valid term in the economic sense; the middle class or rising Capitalist class of Marx's day have vanished from the scene. A rough definition of them today would be "all those members of the working class who, for reasons of tradition, snobbery and aspiration, identify themselves with Capitalism and its institutions." They are a part of the Establishment; seeking social solidarity in the pretences that their employments are valuable and that they form the backbone of society. The correct ethics and morals must be observed, the correct sort of clothes worn, and the right sort of house occupied. Income is to some extent secondary, though the most lowly-paid workers cannot qualify. The £12 a week clerk is frequently "middle class" in outlook, while better paid workers on bench or machines are usually "working class." "Middle class" aims and aspirations are however becoming more widespread, even among Labour's traditional supporters.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN



OBJECT

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

- 1 That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.
- 2 That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.
- 3 That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.
- 4 That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.
- 5 That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.
- 6 That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.
- 7 That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desire enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

One change is the growth of the unproductive tasks. This process is continuous, but it has received fresh impetus in the boom conditions prevailing since the War. New office-buildings thrust their outlines into every city skyline, and they are much bigger than the bombed or demolished buildings they replace. More and more office staff are required, and their activities are mechanised and organised on a large scale. Capitalism requires more and more people to calculate, organise, publicise and litigate.

As the office-workers have grown, so the industrial workers, considered as a proportion of the population, have declined. In industry, too, important changes are taking place. The technicians, designers, draughtsmen, and supervisors become increasingly important, and are becoming cut off from their proletarian roots. Many such people are "middle class" in outlook, and are usually on the side of the "Supermac" angels.

Most important of all is the growth among all sections of what D. H. Lawrence called "the new money pleasures." The past sixty years has seen tremendous changes in consumer goods. Modern Capitalism, with its mass-production of pressed-steel and plastic gadgets, its electronic marvels and its motor-cars, has conditioned people to the continual discarding of the old and the buying of new things. No longer need the furniture last a lifetime it must be glossy, bold-as-brass, and changed every few years. Acquisition and coveting are the ruling social ideas, and there has been as a consequence a decline in social life and a decline in interest in real human questions. The furniture, radiogram and T.V. may be new, but the emotional experiences are second-hand, gained from T.V., best-selling novel or film. "You have never had it so good" is a pretty accurate, and cynical, summing-up of attitudes in the 1950's. This is not a triumph of higher wages and improved social conditions. It is a triumph of things over human relationships. The Commodity reigns supreme, and Humanity is hardly anywhere. There is a constant barrage of T.V., press and film advertising to help keep the Commodity secure.

What can the left-wing idealists of the Labour Party say against this? The Labour Party, with its catchpenny prosperity schemes, its sensational appeals, its exhortations to workers to work harder in the cause of increased prosperity, its support of the trade struggle, contributed its share towards Man's enslavement to the Commodity.

What Labour failed to see was that Capitalism could be modified again and again—and still remain Capitalism. Poverty is a permanent feature of Capitalism. However many gadgets workers acquire (and the process need not be continuous, for slumps can return again) they remain workers; and the ruling class are still there—on top.

The Squawking, Chattering Jay

Labour need not be stuck for an answer. There is the quick gloss, the clever evasion, the downright lie: all useful weapons in politics. There is the Jay approach, a truly cynical one: cast away the old ideas, keep up to date, be in with the times! It doesn't matter what you do

so long as you kick wicked old Mac out of office! The argument is of course justified by the cry: "spare a tear for the poor electorate under Tory rule!" Labour members are certainly confused, but this kind of argument hasn't gone down very well. They have, after all, an attachment to what they call their "principles." Many would like to see more Nationalisation, but are prepared to admit it hasn't made much difference so far. And why and how should it?

The bulk of the Party will probably come round to Gaitskell's views on the subject which are: keep a fair smattering of high-sounding phrases for the more thoughtful (but Keep it Vague!); an abandonment or modification (or in any case soft-peddalling) of the garbled and obscure definition of Socialism in the Party's 1919 constitution; and plenty of gloss on those policy statements. Labour's post-election conference suggests that for the time being they will be satisfied with a patchwork job, with Uncle Nye (how genial the old firebrand is getting!) suavely proclaiming the Party's essential unity. Labour's next programme might be envisaged as promising a thousand miles more motorway than the Tories, bigger and better Hire-Purchase and house buying facilities, and a suggestion that Labour is an up-to-date slick Party in a slick world. They might on the other hand become the victims of their own traditions and go into a gentle decline. In any event Socialism will become more and more distant, the "principles" more and more obscure and more and more a cloak for ruling class ideas.

In spite of sixty years of "inevitable gradualness": in spite of increasing Government interference in the running of almost everything; Capitalism is still carried on for the benefit of a ruling class. Its hold over people's minds appears as strong as ever. "Appears" is used deliberately; although people still support Capitalism, it is support on a rather cynical level. Outright enthusiasm is becoming rare. Perhaps in a way this is an advance; perhaps disillusion comes all the quicker.

Capitalism, in spite of "improved" education, better social services, motor-cars and other gadgets of all sorts, remains an unworthy system: throwing its peoples' lives away in futile battle; damaging the very basis of Man's biological inheritance; submitting its peoples to the rat-race scramble for jobs and favours; subordinating Man to the machine and productive method; crushing individuality; battering at peoples' consciousness with hideous

advertising, and misusing language in the same process (adding "triteness" to "brightness" is one of Capitalism's more subtle and insidious crimes); and fostering avarice, envy and hatred where there could be human co-operative happiness.

Out in the Cold

More and more motor-cars and motor-ways, and more intricate gadgets, do not suggest Wonderland to the Socialist. They suggest that Mankind is going mad over mere things, over what should be simply aids and adjuncts to living, and in the process are forgetting how to live, forgetting their own humanity.

Not being interested in cadging votes (though we would certainly like to see more workers supporting Socialism, at the Polls and elsewhere); not wasting our time in collecting the crumbs of Reform; not trying to resolve the impossible by offering a Foreign Policy that will reconcile Eisenhower, Khrushchev, De Gaulle and the British Government; we are in a position radically different from any other Party, and our problems are different. We are the victims of the general hostility and apathy towards politics. People dismiss all politicians—including Socialists—as frauds, even though our views are not "politics" in the sense that other Parties use the word. We have to break through a thick armour of apathy and hostility, to show people that we are really different. Still, we find few Labour supporters left prepared to argue, and perhaps out of the apathy and cynicism will come a more positive attitude, an attitude favourable to Socialist ideas. In the meantime we remain unrepentant, and to Labour jeering we can reply "we would rather be in the Political wilderness than have supported a Government that began the biggest peace-time armaments programme in this country's history" (where were the left-wing mixed-up kids then? Cringing under the lash of three-line whips!)

Petrol-station, sham-Tudor house and shiny gadgets provide an unworthy material setting for mankind; just as irrational politics, reformism, "publicity" sensationalism and herd-appeals provide an unworthy ideological setting. Along with all this and the other rubbish that Socialism will consign to the dustbin will go the Labour Party. For they are a symbol of working-class political immaturity, and the sooner discarded the better.

F. R. I.

NOTICES

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the S.P.G.B. Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4, at 7.30 p.m.

ORDERS for literature should be sent to the Literature Department, S.P.G.B., at the above address.

CORRESPONDENCE for the Executive Committee should be sent to the General Secretary, S.P.G.B., 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4 (Telephone: Macaulay 3811).

LETTERS containing postal orders, etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, S.P.G.B., at the above address. Postal orders and cheques should be crossed and made payable to the S.P.G.B.

In order that copies of the SOCIALIST STANDARD can be on sale in the Provinces on the first day of the month, it has been decided to have it printed several days earlier. This requires that articles shall be delivered to the Editorial Committee at Head Office not later than the 14th of the month. Notices of meetings must also be sent in earlier than in the past, though it will sometimes be possible to secure their insertion later than the 14th.

THE CINEMA

Those War Films

WAR Films, like Westerns, are always in fashion. From Hollywood and elsewhere, there flows a constant stream of films about heroism, cowardice, battles, bombings and butchery generally. So, at regular intervals, we sit transfixed in our cinema seats, while jet planes zoom overhead and the U.S. marines go in to finish off yet another bunch of anti-democratic savages. Satisfying? Maybe. Harmless? Improbable. But useful? Very rarely.

War is, after all, a serious subject. Yet, of the enormous number of films that have been made about war, one can count on one's fingers those which say something intelligent, useful or constructive about it.

Generally speaking, war films, like thrillers and westerns, follow well-defined patterns and fall into a few set groups. The commonest kind is the heroic battle-story with a slender plot and perhaps a little love interest. The hero, rugged and clean-living, goes into battle and, after inevitable setbacks, crushes the enemy practically single-handed. Sometimes he dies at the end, murmuring beautiful thoughts and accompanied by a celestial choir.

In these films the sort of thing that one remembers is, perhaps, Robert Taylor defending Bataan single-handed against hordes of Japs; or Veronica Lake gallantly walking into the enemy camp with a bosom loaded down with hand-grenades; and other similar epics of true-to-life bravery. Occasionally the story is more sophisticated and the background a little less false. But, basically, the same pattern is there—heroism, and the defeat of an evil enemy.

Why should one object to this ostensibly harmless kind of fairy tale? What is important is that the audience is expected to participate by identifying itself with the hero and the victorious army. It is objectionable for films to blatantly glorify the sordid business of killing. It is harmful to glamorise the slaughter of one's fellow-men. Above all, it is dangerous to suggest, as these films do, that war is inevitable and necessary, and that "fighting for one's country" is a natural and desirable thing.

Another (and much smaller) category of films is the semi-documentary type, usually without love-interest, in which the portrayal of the fighting is much closer to reality. A few of these films have been extremely good, *A Walk in the Sun*, for instance, telling of one brief sortie by an American patrol in the Italian campaign. The Polish film *Kanal* is also worthy of mention, with its horrifying account of the crushing of the Warsaw uprising and the miserable and wretched deaths suffered by the survivors, either in the sewers of Warsaw or at the hands of the Germans. It is interesting to note, however, that this otherwise admirable film makes no mention of the Russian army which stood outside Warsaw for weeks, allowing their "allies" to be butchered in the sewers. But, of course, one should not expect too much from film-makers in countries now dominated by their Russian "liberators."

Probably the best of this type of film is the Finnish film *The Unknown Soldier*, which portrays the tiny, ill-equipped Finnish army in its war against Russia. In this, war is stripped of glamour and adventure and shown for what it is—a brutal and fearful business. This kind of film may, and sometimes does, inspire a genuine horror of war and all that goes with it, which in itself is a good thing. However, as these films never put forward a positive point of view, or any alternative to war, the overall effect is to make people think that war is a terrible and terrifying thing, but also that it is necessary and justifiable in the right circumstances.

During the war, and shortly after, there was a spate of documentary films, most of them made by the Crown Film Unit. The intention was to boost morale and convince the public that our cause was just and that victory would inevitably come. Some of them were well-

made (for example, *Fires Were Started*), and did at least give an unsentimental and fairly accurate picture of what went on in the war. Many documentaries, notable *The March of Time* series, held out extravagant promises of the wonderful world that was to be ours after the war, a world freed from economic disasters, international tension and all the unpleasant things that occurred before the war. This is one good reason why these films are never shown today.

Since the war, we have had the opportunity of seeing documentaries that put the other side's point of view—*Blitzkrieg*, for instance. Although the uniforms are different, the message is the same—"We are right and the enemy is wrong."

Another fairly common type of war-film is the prison-camp story, with the usual ingredients of escape, brutal punishment, cheerful and heroic prisoners and bullying prison-camp commanders. The pattern of these films is much the same as the heroic battle-epic. The prisoners attempt to escape because it is their duty to get back home to fight again. So insistent is the escape theme in films like *The Wooden Horse* and *The Colditz Story* and many others, that one gets the misleading impression that prison-camp life consisted of never-ending escape attempts, and that captured soldiers couldn't get back in the front line quick enough. Some of these films have depicted revolting brutality, not so much from a desire for authenticity, but rather to encourage national hatreds. One of the few prison-camp films to explore the possibilities of genuine human contact between captors and captives was *La Grande Illusion*, a French film, which itself was made long before the Second World War.

Then one comes to the very few films about war which put forward a clear point of view—that war is unjustifiable, perhaps, or that war is harmful to all who take part in it. One or two even suggest that the war leaders and officers are not disinterested saints, but people with a vested interest in warfare. *Attack*, for example, did this badly, by showing the harm caused by a fanatical officer, but negated the point by suggesting that "good" officers would have solved the problem. *Paths of Glory*, on

the other hand, presented a picture of army officers scheming and competing like business men, and the disastrous effect this had on the men at the bottom, many of whom died as a result.

The films where a humanist or pacifist view is presented are few and far between. Apart from *Paths of Glory*, there is the old *All Quiet on the Western Front*, with its sympathetic portrayal of the German soldiers in the First World War. It had the temerity to suggest that German soldiers were human, too, with the same wants and desires, and cutting the same poor figure in the muddy trenches as their counterparts on the allied side. *La Grande Illusion* put forward a similar point of view, and exposed "the great illusion" of national enmity.

The result of the tally is not a very encouraging one—a handful of worthwhile films; a few negative but accurate ones; and an enormous number of misleading, sentimental and harmful films glorifying war, extolling killing, and justifying cruelty and murder. Cynics will say that the public are only getting what they deserve. Maybe, but this is only half of the story. Films themselves

are the outcome of social forces, and at the same time help to fashion the climate of opinion in which they appear. So it is that Capitalism, a harmful and irrational system, produces the harmful and irrational by-product—war. This engenders the phony justifications for national enmities, which war films reflect and help to bolster up.

This process is endless—post-war situations produce new justifications and new hatreds, which themselves help to make new wars possible. The only thing that will stem this tide is knowledge and criticism. Working people are gradually coming to realise that wars are not glamorous affairs, that battles are not mere backdrops for heroes, and that national hatreds are not natural and praiseworthy.

One hopes that this trend will be reflected in the cinema, and that if films do deal with war, they will approach it in a critical, constructive and conscious way. Perhaps this is expecting too much of Capitalism, but if the cinema doesn't catch up, one at least knows that the working class eventually will.

A. W. I.

unrealised. Our world is dominated by fear, hatred and confusion, where cash, profit and "What's in it for me?" are so often the criteria for doing anything. When half the population do not even have their basic requirements of food, clothing and shelter met, much less their emotional needs, how can they find personal satisfaction and harmony in their every-day lives? To retain a sense of ordinary humane values requires a conscious effort. Divorced from emotional security at home, in spite of vast housing estates and modern gadgets; alienated from pride at work, for all the new machinery; still there is little sense of achievement and pleasure.

This is all shown clearly, but the film offers no solution to the problems. Surely to reorganise society on a basis of common humanity and the social considerations of the well-being of all human beings is not such a difficult task. While Socialists may feel that *The Savage Eye* does not look far enough, it is none the less well worth seeing for it does extend an invitation to its audience to (misquoting the faith healer) "Move along friend and think a while."

J. H.

The Savage Eye

THE SAVAGE EYE, at present showing at the Curzon, is something of an emotional block-buster. Staggering out into the neon lighting, the dazed cinema-goer finds himself asking, "Is life really as dreadful as this, are people usually so hopeless and despairing?" or worse still, "Am I one of them?"

Certainly the eye is savage enough, giving a conducted tour of present-day society as seen by a bitter, disillusioned and dejected divorcee. Finding herself in a spiritual vacuum, she wanders about the city, draws her alimony cheque regularly, and spends much of her boredom increasing her disgust at the behaviour of human beings. Sourly she views the world at large from the pavement, and a singularly depressing view it is. Bad debts at the dog tracks, screams for blood at wrestling matches, vicious brawls in pubs. Men looking for women, women looking for men, and fat ladies pedalling wildly on stationary bicycles in a beauty parlour. Candid shots of gaping mouths, sagging waists and false smiles. Yet beneath their phony, gilt-edged pretensions,

people struggling for recognition, love and affection. Even in one of the most pitiful and truly horrific scenes of the film struggling for their health at a faith healing ceremony ("Dear God, it's her liver. Move along friend and pray awhile.") During all of this she conducts a cynical and at times slightly pretentious dialogue with a resonant manly voice that identifies itself as "Your inner self, your angel," and the unhappy wanderer is finally persuaded to face reality and come to terms with the people she despises so much.

The film shows you, nothing new. People are seen doing the things you know that they do, living the life that you know they live. But it does make clear the fact that society is made up of people, and that people within modern society need more than new flats, health insurance and hair driers to make them feel that life is worth living. They need to belong, to feel that they are doing something considered worthwhile to the community, to give and to receive. In a society such as ours it is quite obvious that these needs are for the greater part

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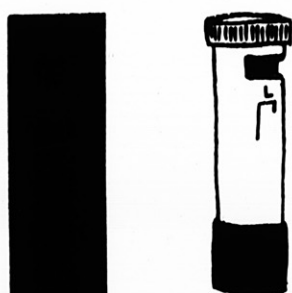
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from the Branches

ISLINGTON

Islington Branch continue to run successful lunch hour meetings at Tower Hill every Thursday, and those comrades able to attend would be doing a useful job in supporting the meetings.

All work and no Social? Did you enjoy dancing to Joe's (McGuinness) Group at the last Social? Islington Branch have again engaged them to play for you at their forthcoming Social and Dance to be held at the Co-op Hall, 129, Seven Sisters Road, N.7 (Finsbury Park Tube station) on Saturday, January 16th. Admission is 2s. 6d. and tickets are obtainable from Comrade Carr, Islington Branch Secretary, and from Comrade Blomeley who is at Head Office every Tuesday evening.

The Branch also invites Comrades and Friends to their Branch meeting—same address as the Social—and in particular on Thursday, January 21st, when Comrade Hardy will be speaking on "Inflation." Time, 8 p.m.

FILM LECTURES

The first of a new series commences on Sunday, January 10th, and will be held every Sunday following until March. Time, 7.30 p.m., at Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, S.W.4.

SUNDAY LECTURES

The Propaganda Committee have arranged a series of eight Sunday meetings commencing January 24th, to be held at the Central Club Society, 127, Clerkenwell Road, E.C.1 (Near Holborn Hall), 7.30 p.m. This is a new venue and it is hoped that the meetings will have the support necessary to make them successful. Please make a note of the new address and pass it on to friends who would be interested.

SOCIALIST STANDARD

A reminder that a subscription form is in this issue—a moment or two to fill it in, and a remittance of 7s. 6d., will ensure the delivery of a copy early every month for a year.

SPECIAL MARCH ISSUE

The March issue of the SOCIALIST STANDARD will be a special one on Africa. Writers are asked to let the S.S. Production Committee know as soon as possible whether they will have anything to submit on the subject.

P. H.

January 1960

There is no avail in the wish "Happy New Year." Only a hope that the next twelve months will be better than the last. We said it to each other last January and what has happened since then? We have had over 600,000 unemployed. In May there was the scare over Berlin: in the Summer the reports from Hula and Nyasaland. The Autumn brought another Tory government. However much we wish for a new start, Capitalism does not change. It is time to stop wishing and to begin working for a better world, where peace and plenty are perpetual reality instead of an annual aspiration.

**THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF
GREAT BRITAIN IS DESPERATELY
SHORT OF MONEY.
HELP US WITH A DONATION
TO THE TREASURER AT OUR
HEAD OFFICE!**



Islington Branch cordially
invites you to their

Social & Dance

DANCING TO JOE'S GROUP

Saturday, 16th January at 7.30 p.m.
Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N.7
2s. 6d. Refreshments



MEETINGS

SUNDAY LECTURES

A series of 8 lectures at Central Club (Small Hall), 127 Clerkenwell Road, Grays Inn Road, E.C.1., (next to Holborn Hall) at 7.30 p.m.

Jan. 24th	The Dilemma of the Labour Party	C. May
Jan. 31st	Why Reformism must fail	H. Young
Feb. 7th	The American Revolution	C. Wilson

DOCUMENTARY FILMS

Documentary Films followed by brief Socialist comment at Head Office, 52 Clapham High Street, S.W.4, every Sunday at 7.30 p.m. Questions and discussion are encouraged which can be continued in the Social Room afterwards when light refreshments will be on sale.

Jan. 10th	Strike in Town	T. Lord
Jan. 17th	The Waiting People	Michael
Jan. 24th	The German Story	S. Goldstein
Jan. 31st	Men at Work	
Feb. 7th	Spring Comes to Venice	E. Kersley

BETHNAL GREEN MEETINGS

2 Lectures Bethnal Green Town Hall, Cambridge Heath Road, E.2. Wednesdays at 8 p.m.

Jan. 13th	Industrial Crisis	E. Hardy
Jan. 27th	Inflation and Recent Government Policy	E. Hardy

ISLINGTON LECTURE

Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N.7. Thursday at 8 p.m.

Jan 12st	Inflation	E. Hardy
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CRISIS IN AFRICA

In association with the special issue of the *Socialist Standard* in March a meeting is being held at Denison House, March 20th at 7.30 p.m.

PADDINGTON DISCUSSIONS

The Olive Branch, Crawford Street, W.1., Wednesdays at 8.30 p.m.

Jan. 13th	D. H. Lawrence	I. Jones
Jan. 20th	Failure of the Labour Party	C. May
Jan. 27th	Development of the U.S.A.	T. Law

LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS

Sundays	Hyde Park, 3.30 p.m. East Street, Walworth Beresford Square, Woolwich, 8 p.m.
Thursdays	Tower Hill, 12.30 p.m. Gloucester Road, 8 p.m.
Saturdays	Rushcroft Road, Brixton, 8 p.m. Castle Stret, Kingston, 8 p.m. Roper Street, Iltham, 3 p.m.

BRANCHES

Visitors are cordially invited to every meeting

BASILDON. Thursdays 7.30 p.m., Craylands County Secondary School, Basildon. Correspondence: R. H. Bowie, Cranford, Basil Drive, Laindon, Essex.

BIRMINGHAM. Thursdays 8 p.m., "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month. Enquiries to H. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road, Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.

BLOOMSBURY. 1st and 3rd Thursdays (Jan. 7 and 21) in month 7.30 p.m. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

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EALING. Fridays 8 p.m. Memorial Hall, Windsor Rd., Ealing (nr. Broadway). Correspondence: E. T. Crichtfield, 48 Balfour Road, W.13.

ECCLES. 2nd Friday (Jan. 9) in month, 7.30 p.m., 5 Gaskell Road, Eccles. Correspondence: F. Lea at above address.

FULHAM & CHELSEA. 1st and 3rd Thursdays (Jan. 7 discussion and 21 business) in month 8 p.m. "Kings Head", 4 Fulham High Street, S.W.6. (nr. Putney Bridge). Correspondence: L. Cox, 22 Victoria House, Ebury Bridge Rd. SW1. Tel. SLO 5258.

GLASGOW (City). Alternate Wednesdays (Jan. 6 and 20) 8 p.m. Religious Institute Rooms, 200 Buchanan Street, C.1. Correspondence: J. Richmond, 24 Southdean Avenue, W.5.

GLASGOW (Kelvingrove). Alternate Mondays (Jan. 11 and 25) 8 p.m., Partick Burgh Halls, Partick. Correspondence: R. Donnelly, 50 Doncaster Street, Glasgow, N.W.

HACKNEY. Wednesdays 7.30 p.m., Bethnal Green Town Hall, Room 3 (Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: W. Ivimey, 12a, Connaught Grange, Connaught Gardens, N.13.

ISLINGTON. Thursdays 8 p.m., Co-op. Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N.7. Lecture or discussion after business. Correspondence: R. E. Carr, SPGB, c/o above address.

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PADDINGTON. Wednesdays 8.30 p.m., "The Olive Branch," Crawford Street, W.1. (corner Homer Street, nr. Marylebone Road). Discussions after business. Correspondence: C. May, 1 Hanover Road, N.W.10.

SOUTHEND. 1st Tuesday (Jan. 5), 19 Kingswood Chase, Leigh-on-Sea; 3rd Tuesday (Jan. 19), 17 Cotswold Road, Westcliff-on-Sea; in each month, 7.30 p.m. Correspondence: Dick Jacobs, at above latter address.

WEST HAM. Thursdays 8 p.m., Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E.12. Discussions from 9 p.m. Correspondence: D. Deutz, 80 Bowdsey Ave., Ilford, Essex.

WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY. Fridays 7.30 p.m., 146 Inderwick Road, Hornsey, N.8 (41 bus to Tottenham Lane, nr. "Hope & Anchor"). Correspondence: Secretary, at above address.

WOOLWICH. 2nd and 4th Fridays (Jan. 8 and 22) in month, 7.30 p.m., Town Social Club, Mason's Hill, S.E.18. Discussions at 8 p.m. Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens, Eltham, S.E.9.

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DORKING & DISTRICT. Enquiries: O.C. Iles, "Ashleigh" Townfield Rd., Dorking.

MANCHESTER. Enquiries: J. M. Breakey, 2 Dennison Avenue, Manchester 20. Tel.: Did 5709.

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NEWPORT & DISTRICT. Meetings at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport (Details advertised in *South Wales Argus*). Enquiries M. Harris, 25 Court Farm Estate, Cwmbran, nr. Newport, Mon.

OLDHAM. Wednesdays 7.30 p.m., 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees, at above address. Tel.: Mai 5165.

REDHILL. Enquiries: A. A. Kemp, 19 Ashcombe Rd., Merstham, Redhill, Surrey.

SUSSEX. Enquiries: W. Craske, "Hazelcroft," Green Road, Wivelsfield Green, Sussex.

SWANSEA. Enquiries: V. Brain, 17 Brynawellon, Pencelliog, Llanelli, Glam.

The Passing Show

CHURCHILL AT OMDURMAN

In his book *My Early Life* (quoted in *The Observer*, 6/12/59) Sir Winston Churchill talks of his part in the Battle of Omdurman. Just before the battle he was on patrol:

Talk of Fun! Where will you beat this! On horseback, at daybreak, within shot of an advancing army, seeing everything, and corresponding direct with headquarters.

Yes, it must have been exciting. Too exciting, perhaps, for some tastes. After taking part in the battle itself Churchill records what he saw:

But now from the direction of the enemy there came a succession of grisly apparitions: horses spouting blood, struggling on three legs, men staggering on foot, men bleeding from terrible wounds, fish-hook spears stuck right through them, arms and faces cut to pieces, bowels protruding, men gasping, crying, collapsing, expiring. . . In all out of 310 officers and men the regiment had lost in the space of about two or three minutes, five officers and sixty-five men killed and wounded, and 120 horses—nearly a quarter of its strength.

But the men killed and maimed had not been sacrificed for nothing. The battle at Omdurman was a triumph for the British ruling class over the native Sudanese leaders, and meant that henceforth the British workers and the Sudanese peasants would labour for the same masters. It was not surprising that British Capitalism hailed this waste of life as a glorious victory.

THE BISHOPS

In these decadent days bishops are always complaining about their half-empty churches, and it must be disappointing to them to find that their brand of aspirin is not selling so well as it once did. They can be forgiven, then, if like other firms they try a little self-advertisement now and again. Their managing director, the Archbishop of Canterbury, had this to say the other day (*The Guardian*, 20/11/59):

(The bishops) have no other means of directing or steering the clergy or laity except by their own quiet, loving pastoral discretion, and I believe that if there are people who stand out far and away for

their grace and wisdom, it is the bishops of the Church of England.

Since Dr. Fisher is the head bishop, he should know.

POACHING

MR. D. L. BLUNT, the Kenya Minister for Game and Fisheries, has warned the Kenya Legislative Council of the serious effects of the "large-scale poaching" of Kenya's wild animals (*The Times*, 9/12/59). He said that poaching had become "systematically organised and a commercial money-making racket." No one would wish to see the wild life of Kenya slaughtered to extermination, but two comments may be made. Firstly, when the Kariba Dam was built by the white settlers in the Rhodesias, to provide the power needed for the development of Rhodesian Capitalism, they were not deterred by the thought of all the wild animals that would be drowned as the waters rose. And secondly, can the Kenya whites complain about the poaching of wild animals when they themselves have poached an entire country?

ALL-POWERFUL, ALL-GOOD?

ACCORDING to the Italian commission of inquiry, "the 31 people—26 passengers and five crew—killed when a British European Airways Viscount crashed near Anzio in October last year after a collision in daylight with an Italian jet fighter, died because of "an act of God" (*The Guardian*, 25/11/59). The commission also found that a "further cause" of the disaster was that the Viscount had gone off its course, and was flying in an area reserved by the Italian Government for military activity.

Ruling classes have found since the beginning of civilisation that the idea of a God was very useful to them—no doubt one of the main reasons why the idea has survived, instead of vanishing along with the other frightened imaginings of primitive man. They still find it useful. The real cause of this disaster appears to be that the Viscount flew into an area reserved for war preparations: those killed in it were among the first casualties of the next war. But the

Italian authorities could not be expected to admit that. It isn't the first time a ruling class has sheltered behind a God.

SWEET MUSIC

THE latest move to "improve" factories is like reforms: ostensibly it is for the workers' benefit, but really the advantage goes to the Capitalist class, or that section of the Capitalist class which introduces it. This new development is the continuous playing of background music, piped into the factory or office by any of half-a-dozen companies in this field. The aim is simply to increase production and therefore profits. As *The Guardian* says (10/12/59): "The pace must be stepped up at the times when workers flag." No doubt our reformers, those staunch allies of "progressive" Capitalism, will lash themselves into a fever of enthusiasm in support of this step forward as well. Socialists will prefer to work for a system in which those who want to listen to music will be able to, and those who don't want to listen won't have to.

ALWYN EDGAR.

Important Socialist Lectures

Central Club
Clerkenwell Road
Sundays 7.30
from Jan. 24

Full details on page 15

SOCIALIST STANDARD: Published by the Socialist Party of Great Britain, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4. Printed by R. E. Taylor & Son, Ltd. (T.U.) 57 Banner Street, London, E.C.1.

SOCIALIST STANDARD

A Most Dangerous Myth



Radio Times Hulton Picture Library

GERMANY IN THE THIRTIES "I am a Jew but I will not grumble about the Nazis"

**"It cannot be stated too often.
The working-class fall for the
myth of 'race' at their peril."**

Journal of the SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

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MEETINGS

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HISTORY & THE WORLD TODAY

- | | | |
|-----------|---|----------------|
| Feb. 7th | The American Revolution | C. Wilson |
| Feb. 14th | Liberty, Equality & De Gaulle | R. Critchfield |
| Feb. 21st | English Revolution & Rise of Capitalism | V. Phillips |
| Feb. 28th | "You have never had it so good?" | T. Lord |
| Mar. 6th | Paris Commune & the Role of the State | I. Jones |
| Mar. 13th | The Socialist Revolution | S. Michael |

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- | | | |
|-----------|---------------------------------|------------|
| Feb. 7th | Creative Art in Rural America | E. Kersley |
| Feb. 14th | The American Revolution | C. Wilson |
| Feb. 21st | Strike (Directed by Eisenstein) | |
| Feb. 28th | Automation | E. Hardy |

LEWISHAM DISCUSSIONS

Co-op. Hall, Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, S.E.6, alternate Mondays at 8 p.m.

- | | | |
|-----------|-------------------------|-----------|
| Feb. 15th | The Humanity of Marxism | L. Bryan |
| Feb. 22nd | The Alienation of Man | A. Ivimey |

CRISIS IN AFRICA

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LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS

Sundays

- Hyde Park, 3.30 p.m.
East Street, Walworth
Feb. 7th, 21st (12 noon)
Feb. 14th, 28th (11 a.m.)
Beresford Square, Woolwich, 8 p.m.

Thursdays

- Tower Hill, 12.30 p.m.
Gloucester Road, 8 p.m.

Saturdays

- Rushcroft Road, Brixton, 8 p.m.
Castle Stret, Kingston, 8 p.m.
Roper Street, Eltham, 3 p.m.

SOCIALIST STANDARD

FEBRUARY 1960

Journal of SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

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| 20 | Macmillan on Safari |
| 22 | "You've never had it so good" |
| 24 | The Problem of Race |
| 26 | Coroner's Court |
| 27 | What is Morality |
| 28 | Race Prejudice |
| 29 | The First Age of Speed |
| 32 | The Passing Show |

THE SHADOW OF ANTI-SEMITISM

THIS "Brave New Year" of 1960 has opened sinisterly. Outbreaks of slogan daubing and swastika painting have occurred in many parts of Germany and there have been similar incidents in a number of other countries, including Britain. People have been reminded, rudely and violently, of something they had almost forgotten—those terrible days of the thirties when the shadow of Nazism first fell upon the world. The photograph on our front page is a vivid reminder of those times and of the way in which the German working-class took its first steps along the road that was to end in conflagration and ruin.

For some strange reason these outbreaks appear to have come as a surprise to many people. They have been shocked to see again something they thought was finished for ever. It is hard to understand why, unless it was from a deeply hidden fear of having their thoughts again disturbed by the horrors of the past.

Did they really think that the people of Germany could change their thinking overnight? That after twelve years of being conditioned to hating Jews, to being the only true "Aryan Supermen," to belonging to the "Master Race," they could each and every one turn into an apostle of brotherly love and racial tolerance? Or did they really believe the notion trotted out to them in wartime that the ideology of Nazism would disappear with the defeat of Germany? If so, they must be incredibly naive.

And if they really thought this, how explain the similar outbreaks that have occurred in something like twenty other countries, at almost the same time? What about the incidents in this country itself? The real facts are that the virus of anti-Semitism is to be found wherever there are Jews. Given the right conditions, this virus will come into life, grow, and flourish—unless the working-class decide otherwise.

As to the incidents themselves, what importance are we to attach to them? Are they the work of some lunatic fringe, or of a few die-hard Nazis and Fascists still

lingering on from the past, or are they evidence of more serious forces at work in Germany and elsewhere? Can they perhaps be dismissed as a petty example of imitative hysteria brought on by the widespread coverage they have received from the newspapers, radio, and T.V.? Concentrated publicity, especially on a subject that lends itself to sensationalism, can often set up a chain-reaction, the effects of which can be particularly strong upon the young and the mentally ill. *The Guardian* of 14th January, for example, mentioned the case of the individual who went round Woolwich at night inviting people to "join the English Reich party." Even more absurd was the further instance they quoted of the schoolboy in Western Germany who confessed he had painted his swastikas because "my village hasn't been in the news at all."

On the other hand, serious and apparently reliable sources have spoken of new Nazi organisations with memberships running into tens of thousands, and of periodicals and pamphlets with circulations of the same order.

Which of these is the truer reflection of the actual state of affairs? Should we, in short, be heartened—or should we be alarmed?

We suggest that there is no reason for the moment to be one or the other. First, because we have not yet enough sound evidence to form a judgment. It is still difficult to establish, through the haze of newspaper and other publicity, just what the real facts are. Second, because not enough time has gone by as yet for the incidents to be seen in their proper perspective. The whole thing may die down as quickly as it arose. On the other hand, it may only be a prelude to more serious events.

For the moment, therefore, we prefer to reserve judgment on the incidents themselves and their significance. What we do want to state, or rather re-state, because it is not something that we suddenly think up for occasions such as these, is the fundamental Socialist position on anti-Semitism and on all other forms of "race" prejudice.

This position is that "race" prejudice today is bound up with the capitalist system. That like a virus it dies away or flourishes according to the state of health of that system. That if capitalism is passing through one of its more "prosperous" periods the virus will tend to lie dormant. But that if capitalism is in crisis, as it was in Germany in the early thirties with its terrible unemployment and all the misery and other evils that stemmed from it, then the virus is capable of coming into swift and virulent life.

The only means whereby the working-class can be sure of immunity from racial intolerance is through an understanding of the forces at work in capitalism. This means Socialist understanding. It means the realisation that the

conflicts, the crises, the frustrations, the miseries, the threats of war, and all the other evils of capitalism, are fertile ground for the workers to find a convenient scapegoat in the Jews, West Indians, Irish, or any other minority that happens to be at hand. It means the realisation that such race prejudice can be part and parcel of nationalism, dictatorship, and the drift to war. It means, finally, the realisation that race prejudice is useful in taking their minds off the real cause of their troubles—the capitalist system itself.

It cannot be said too often. The working-class fall for the myth of "race" at their peril.

Macmillan on Safari

STRANGELY for him, Mr. Macmillan left for his African tour with hardly a bang or a whimper. No funny hat at the airport. No enduring fatuity for the newspapermen. He must have been in serious mood, meant business. He seems to begin every year with a bit of travel, but it would be ungracious to suspect him only of wanting to escape the English winter.

Certainly, Mr. Macmillan had a case for going to have a look at Africa, for the continent keeps breaking into the news. (The March SOCIALIST STANDARD will be extensively devoted to it.) For the public there may be the empty phrases, such as his statement to the Nigerian Parliament on January 13th that "Britain's primary purpose is the preservation of peace and justice and rising prosperity throughout the world." But beneath these words is the concern of the British capitalist class for the continent where they were once so powerful and which is now slipping from their control. Over the past few years the pace of African events has increased tremendously. This year, the French Cameroons, Senegal, Soudan, Mauretania and Nigeria, among others, will become independent of the powers which have ruled them for so long. Their own ruling class will control the country. The past colonial powers must establish new relations with them, seeking to

maintain the advantages of the old empire. Africa, lying between Western Europe and the Far East, is strategically important. It has great mineral resources and is a valuable future market for Europe's industries. Little wonder, then, that Whitehall is so anxious to come to terms with the new African nationalisms.

Africa Year

Are the Labour Party put out by all this? Would they prefer the Tories to show their traditional hard face on colonial affairs? They did their best to make Africa an issue in the last general election and have named 1960 as Africa Year. This means that they will launch a heavy propaganda drive, starting with a month-long boycott of South African imports during March. But isn't this rather odd? The Nationalist Party came to power in South Africa in 1948, when there was a Labour government over here. They had three years to impose economic sanctions against South African goods, yet took no such action. Again, why boycott only South African imports? What about those from Spain? And Portugal? And Russia? Indeed, far from wanting to exclude Russian imports, many prominent members of the Labour Party advocate an increase in trade between Russia and Great Britain.

CRISIS IN AFRICA



- ★ Apartheid in South Africa
- ★ Nyasaland
- ★ African Nationalism

READ THE SPECIAL MARCH SOCIALIST STANDARD

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN



OBJECT

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

- 1 That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.
- 2 That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.
- 3 That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.
- 4 That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.
- 5 That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.
- 6 That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.
- 7 That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desire enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

IVAN.

Curiouser still, Labour is trying to prove that its South African boycott will hurt hardly anybody. On January 13th *The Guardian* reported that Mr. Morgan Phillips stated at a press conference that "Even if the Labour Party's boycott of South African goods in March is 100 per cent effective it is likely to affect little more than £2 million worth of trade." Why organise the boycott at all, if it is so limited?

Labour will say that it is a matter of principle but the Tories may fairly object that the Labour Party are playing up Africa as an Opposition's vote catcher. Certainly, the Labour government's was not a good record on colonial affairs. They banished Seretse Khama from Bechuanaland. They put Nkrumah in jail, whence he was taken to become Ghana's Prime Minister. Now that they are in opposition, this may be forgotten, if the exigencies of British capitalism force the Tories to suppress a colonial nationalist movement, that is fair game for a bit of vote catching. Yet at a guess, it is doubtful that Labour will win much support over Africa. The car and the telly will still determine how Jack votes.

Alternatives

However hard Jack may try to ignore it, Africa will continue to obtrude itself upon his attention. Since the opening of India and the Far East revived European interest, the continent has been dominated by the colonial powers. Inevitably, the colonies have grown their own capitalist class, who have wanted to run their affairs free from outside interference. Thus the colonising country has been faced with two policies. They could try to suppress the nationalist movement, as they have in Cyprus and Algeria. This entails the keeping of armies in the colonies and the expenditure of vast amounts of money—a problem familiar to the French government. The other course is to grant self government, as has happened in Ghana and Nigeria, whilst trying to maintain the old trading connections. This latter is not always possible. British traders have suffered many inconveniences in Ceylon since the island became independent and India and Pakistan have imposed severe restrictions on imports from this country.

Nevertheless, a colonial power will often prefer to agree to self government. But this preference can be overruled by strategic considerations, as in the case of Cyprus, or by economic needs as in Algeria, where the French are anxious to exploit the mineral wealth under the Sahara. Capitalism thrives on cheap and plentiful raw materials, on populous markets and commercial routes. Sometimes it needs wars and suppression to keep these things, and governments are there to see that this happens. Labour and Tory have been the same, their eye on the same ball. That is the message which will be between the lines of the report, nonchalant and civilised, which Mr. Macmillan will give us when he returns from his African journey.

"You've never had it so good"

MR. MACMILLAN has served the Tory party very well indeed. Along with shrewdness and other qualities he has shown himself to be a master showman in a team of showmen. But when he told the British workers that they've never had it so good, there must have been some of his fellow Tories who doubted its wisdom. A tag like this labels a politician and his party for a very long time and when their luck runs out—as it always does—they will never live it down. But a master showman has to take risks and so far the thing has exceeded beyond all possible expectations. He persuaded his followers that it is so, and then the Opposition, so that we now have Mr. Anthony Crosland, Labour M.P. for Grimsby, endorsing it. He confessed this at a Labour Conference at Utrecht, and told them that the British workers "now scarcely seem, either to themselves or to other classes, to be suffering from oppression or capitalist exploitation." (*Daily Mail* 11.1.60). It helped to win the support of a majority of the electors for the Tory party. It convinced the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Fisher, though it failed to win his approval. He calls it a "dreadful phrase." "Whenever I hear it," he said, "I say to myself in the words of Our Lord, 'how hardly shall they that have riches enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.'" (*Daily Telegraph* 11.1.60). With his comfortable £7,500 a year he is worried lest the general affluence of the workers should imperil their souls.

But just how much substance is there in this propaganda, and how much of it exists only in the distorting imagination of the politicians and Press?

Half the Story

There is no lack of supposed evidence to back it up. Let us look at some of it.

The *Evening Standard* (1.1.60) greeted the new year with an editorial telling us about the "Age of Plenty." The opening paragraph set the tone:—

The age of scrimping is over. The age of affluence has begun. In the past 10 years Britain has passed through a social revolution whose full impact is only likely to be felt in the new decade which has just begun. For the first time in history the greater part of this country's people—and not just a fortunate minority—have money to spare beyond their immediate needs.

Even a light-hearted journalist would hardly make this claim without evidence, and the evidence is there.

One figure sums up the progress of this revolution. As the 1960's begin, everyone living in this country has an income higher by an average of £3 a week than at the beginning of the 'fifties.

But before passing on we must look more closely at this average increase of £3 a week. It was clearly derived from figures that turned up in the Press about that time. In the *Financial Times* (31.12.59) under the heading "Standard of Living" we were told that average personal income per head of the population jumped from £220 in 1950 to £375 in 1959. Sure enough the difference, £155 a year, is £3 a week so what more need be said? But what the writer omitted to point out was that in the same period, on official figures, the price level (cost of living) rose by 47 per cent. To buy in 1959 what could be bought for £220 in 1950 would need £323. So the real increase was not £3 a week but the difference between £323 and £375, a matter of about £1 a week, and that £1 a week would buy in 1959 only about half that a like amount would have bought in 1950.

Another figure published by the *Financial Times* showed "expenditure" per head of the population (after deducting from average income the amount of taxation and the amount put aside as savings). This produced an increase between 1950 and 1959, of nearly £2 a week. But again, after allowing for the increase of prices this seemingly large increase gets cut down to a mere 4 per cent—not a lot to show for 10 years of "social revolution."

It is particularly surprising that the *Financial Times* should give figures in this incomplete form because four years ago (6.9.55) when that paper looked at similar figures published then, they pointed out what a miserable showing the figures gave when compared with 1938. They made the point that the real increase per head of the population (after allowing for higher prices) was the trifling rise of 4½ per cent at compared with 1938.

It happens to be useful to the case of those who see a vast increase of the standard of living to have chosen the year 1950 because average expenditure in all the post-war years up to 1952 (after allowing for higher prices) was actually below the pre-war level.

Mr. George Schwartz in the *Sunday Times* (10.1.60) had his own line of comment. He at least is very well aware of the fact that much of the current statistical evidence of higher incomes is merely a reflection of the steady rise in prices and a corresponding decrease in the purchasing power of money. On this occasion he wanted to make the point that booming production and exports are not a new phase in British capitalism. He reproduced columns of figures showing how "peace and prosperity" were booming in the years 1903 to 1913. Again some very imposing figures, but when we look at prices in these ten years we see that they were steadily rising, a total rise of

about 12 per cent. Wages were rising more slowly so that the higher wage actually bought less.

Staggering Truth

What is really astounding about Macmillan's boast is that, at least on average, it contains an element of truth, remembering however that the rich too are in the average figures. The state of most British workers really is a little better than it has ever been before. Of course there are large numbers of clerical workers (including most of the civil service, bank clerks and others) who are worse off than they were before the war, and some industrial workers, including London busmen, are also worse off. But with fewer unemployed and several million married women enjoying the dubious advantage of doing two jobs, home and away, working class purchasing power has gone up. But what a commentary on capitalism that this small advance can be hailed as a social revolution and set the church worrying about the corrupting influence of working class "riches"!

Just about the turn of the year agricultural workers advanced to £8 a week for 46 hours toil. Hundreds of thousands of other men in industry and transport are on much the same level. The average earnings of women of 18 and over in manufacturing industry is £6 17 0 a week—hardly a corrupting level of affluence. And there are over 2 million people who in the course of a year are poor enough to qualify for National Assistance—with wives and children the number is much larger.

Real Capitalism

In spite of the talk about a social revolution capitalism has not changed. It is still a system of minority wealth and mass poverty and insecurity—and just at present it is profits, stock exchange prices and the emergence of new

crops of millionaires that truly mark the phase of "you never had it so good." And the Church, with a rise of £50 million in the value of its investments in the past five years, hasn't done badly.

Just before Christmas, the *People* (20.12.59) gave unintentionally a close-up of the capitalism we still have with us. Mr. Gilbert Harding ran a charity fund and invited readers to subscribe. He was proud to report that 40,000 readers had sent in £15,000 (it later reached £30,000). In particular he recorded that 89 workers in Reading had voted to his fund the £630 held by their defunct Social Club. They had been employed by a biscuit firm but a week before Christmas the firm closed down, unable to meet the competition of larger firms. In all, 290 workers got the sack, "with not a penny in compensation from the firm," although many were likely to get other jobs, "for most of them the Christmas prospect looked bleak." Mr. Harding was entitled to single out the charitable mindedness of the workers who gave the money to his fund, the money "they had scrimped and saved to put the social club on its feet."

But there was another item of interest. The *People* disclosed that when the chairman of the firm died "he left a quarter of a million pounds—all made out of biscuits."

How much more useful it would have been to point out that the quarter of a million was just part of the tribute levied by the capitalist class from the workers, not "made out of biscuits" but out of them.

The socialist struggle has not ended, it has hardly begun, and it will achieve in due time a social system which really will be a social revolution. One in which, incidentally, it will not be necessary for workers to scrimp and save to help the discarded members of their class.

H.

FEBRUARY

We know a brawny young man who, because he was born on February 14th, was nearly named Valentine. And that, you might say, is taking the anniversary business too far. Of course, it's the young ones who keep up Valentine's Day—especially the girls. Why? However off-hand about it they pretend to be, somewhere they are nurturing the dream

of marriage. That way, they think, they'll get security. If the fellow's got looks as well as money—well, that's just as *Woman's Own* says it should be. The reality is the monotonous typing job from nine to five-thirty and then two bobs-worth of dark with Sid Osgood. Life can be better than this. Socialism is ours for the taking: which means that peace, security and freedom can be had right away.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN NEEDS MONEY BADLY. PLEASE SEND ALL YOU CAN TO THE TREASURER AT OUR HEAD OFFICE.

Meetings DOCUMENTARY FILMS

Every Sunday see page 18

COMPANION PARTIES

Socialist Party of Australia

P.O. Box 1440 Melbourne
29 Doris Street, North Sydney, P.O. Box 2291
Sydney

Socialist Party of Canada

P.O. Box 115 Winnipeg, Manitoba

Socialist Party of Ireland

Patrick Boylan, 115 Walkinstown Drive, Dublin
Gen. Sec: 24 Newington Avenue, Belfast

Socialist Party of New Zealand

P.O. Box 62 Petone

World Socialist Party of the United States

11 Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston 9, Mass.

The Problem of Race

As Socialists, we recognise race as a field of genuine scientific investigation. What we emphatically repudiate are the doctrines of racialism, which deliberately ignore or misuse the findings of science, and seek to convince by clothing themselves in a mantle of scientific jargon and primitive emotionalism.

WHAT IS RACE?

In attempting to divide the human species into races the scientist bases his investigations upon physical characteristics. The more important of these are skin, hair, and eye colour; shape of head; hair formation (straight, wavy or woolly); shape of nose (broad or narrow nostrils, high or low bridge, etc.); and stature. There are also numerous other features like lip-formation, shape of face, bone formation, etc., which are of comparatively minor importance. Using these various physical traits, either singly, or, as is more often the case, in groups, scientists, have, according to their own particular interpretations, divided mankind into races.

And it is here that we encounter a stumbling-block. For when these scientists, logically and scientifically, and with all the available evidence before them, try to distinguish between the various races of mankind, they find themselves in difficulties. Their investigations are quite dispassionate; for the most part they have not the slightest desire to bolster up any pre-conceived theories; yet, whenever they have ventured to put forward estimates even of the number of races of human beings in the world, they have been quite unable to come to anything like general agreement on the question. The great majority of them wisely make no attempts at estimating; they realise the uselessness and absurdity of doing so. Despite the fact that they, more than any others, are in possession of the fullest evidence obtainable, despite the fact that they have often made a life-time study of the subject, and despite the fact that, like all human beings, they are anxious to see some definite result emerge, if possible, from their labours, we find that the conclusions of the scientists are tentative, their observations

cautious and non-committal, and their whole attitude guarded and reserved.

One thing is obvious; physical differences between people do exist. This cannot be denied. We may go further and say that certain groups of people do possess physical traits in common, which serve to distinguish one group from another. We may be even more explicit and distinguish three main groups, the White, the Black, and the Yellow. We may also forestall a probable objection and extend the list to include a further group, the people with Brown skins. But how much further than this can we go? To be quite honest with ourselves, we cannot even afford to be dogmatic about the few statements we have already made, because, when all is said and done, we have only divided our groups on the basis of skin colour alone, and there are many other physical differences between people besides this. To classify mankind rigidly on the basis of skin-colour alone is manifestly absurd. One has only to note the different physical characteristics of the inhabitants of one's own street to realise this. They may all be possessed of white skins, but what differ-

ences exist between them in other respects! Even their skins vary, from chalky-white to swarthy, with numerous shades in between. As Whites, we notice all the differing traits of people whose skins are the same colour as our own, but fail to notice all the many variations that occur in the other groups. To us, most Negroes look alike; we notice only their black skins. Yet we are surprised to learn that the great majority of Africans are not pure Negroes at all, but are, in fact, a varying mixture of Negro and Arab stocks.

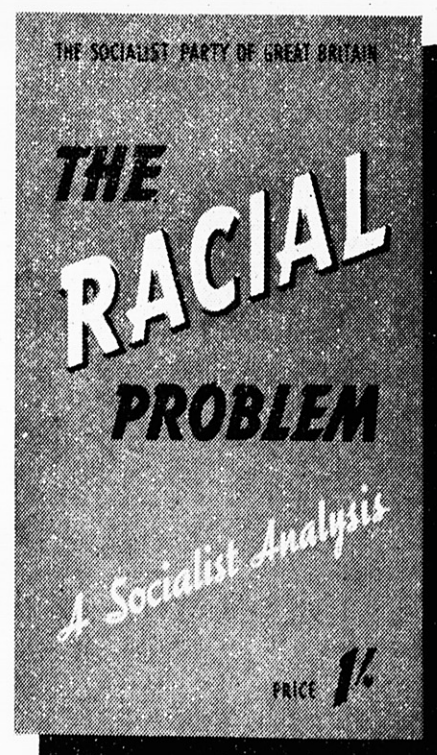
RACE MIXTURE

Why is it so difficult to divide the human species into races?

Unlike the other creatures of the earth, man is no longer the plaything of natural forces. Throughout the countless years of his evolution from his first primitive state, he has gradually made himself the master and controller of nature. He is no longer its slave; through generations he has made himself capable of withstanding and overcoming many of the hostile forces with which he has to contend. By virtue of his superior brain development, he has learned to make and control fire; he has learned to temper the rigours of harsh and bitter climates by means of artificial clothing and shelter; he has learned to fashion tools; and through this increasing control over his environment, he has been able to spread his species over almost the whole of the earth's surface. He has migrated everywhere; into the cold, barren, inhospitable wastes of the sub-Arctic regions; into the hot, arid deserts of the five continents; into the humid forests of the Equatorial lands.

Wherever he has gone, man has, in course of time, adapted himself to the most varied of environments. And, moreover, most important of all from our point of view, wherever he has wandered *he has interbred*. This process of interbreeding has gone on as long as man himself has existed on the earth. With the possible exception of the Pygmies of Central Africa, a small isolated group that has bred within itself

Read



for generations, there is no "pure race" in existence in the world today.

RACE AND NATIONALITY

Probably the most common of all errors is the assumption that race is identical with nationality. Reference is frequently made to the "British race," the "German race," the "Japanese race," and so on, in the belief, we must presume, that the existence of certain frontier lines and political boundaries determines the racial make-up of the people living within them. This belief is utterly false. To talk, for example, of the "British race," is to render the term devoid of all meaning. The inhabitants of Great Britain possess all manner of varying physical characteristics. They vary through the widest extremes of colouring from very fair to very dark; in stature they range from very tall to very short; they are straight-haired and wavy-haired; thin and thickset; long-headed, medium-headed and broad-headed; their eyes may be brown, blue, yellow or green; in short, they constitute a great mixture, a "hotch-potch" of different racial types.

"Thus from a mixture of all things began

That heterogeneous thing, an Englishman."

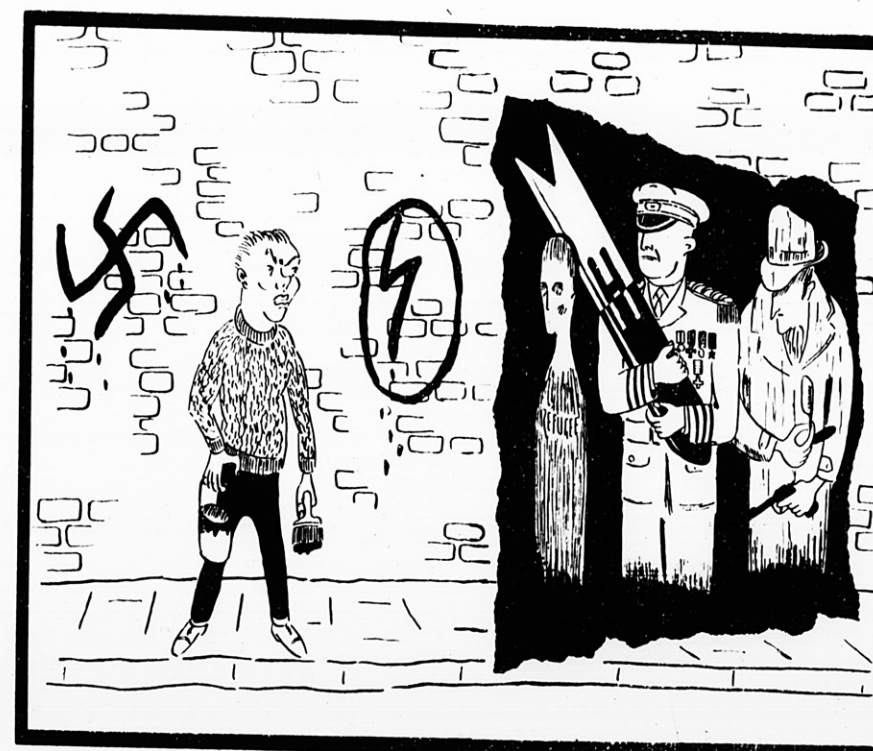
(Daniel Defoe, "The True-born Englishman.")

It is only necessary to take a very cursory glance at British history to see the truth behind the gibe of Defoe. During its history, Britain has received all kinds of peoples, and all of these, whether they arrived as invaders, immigrants, or refugees, have left their mark upon the present population. Most of these peoples have been thoroughly absorbed into the general population.

RACE AND LANGUAGE

Race is often also confused with language. For example, people often talk of the "Latin Races," the "Celtic Races," the "Slav Races," and in doing so use terms which are strictly speaking, self-contradictory. To take an instance, the use of the phrase "Latin Race" can only be taken to refer to those peoples who speak a language originally derived from Latin. Countries whose inhabitants speak such languages are France, Italy, Spain and Roumania, and their various offshoots and colonies, if

THE WRITING ON THE WALL



Not the solution

they possess any. No person in his senses would attempt to link up all these people on a racial basis, but the use of the term can imply only this. Most of us use these phrases more in ignorance than by design, but it is as well to remember that they have, on more than one occasion, been used by various governments as cloaks for nationalistic ambitions. Such was the so-called "Anglo-Saxon" movement in England during the nineteenth century, and as though to offset this there also developed in France the cult of "Celticism" in which certain people professed to find the true source of the so-called "French spirit." Similarly, the idea of an empire which would comprise the whole of the "Slav races" has long been a catch-cry of Russian governments, whether the character of the ruling class be Tsarist or "Communist."

The most notorious example, however, of the deliberate misuse of a linguistic term to cover the propagation of false racial theories is the word "Aryan," which was seized upon by the Nazis in Germany, and was so distorted by them that in time it came to be synonymous with non-Jewish. The word "Aryan" is a linguistic term. Used in the sciences which deal with the study of the development of languages, it describes a huge group of languages which are thought to have originated from a common stem. This group, to which is also applied the

description "Indo-European," includes languages as far apart as English, Latin, Greek, German, the Slav group and Sanskrit. It has absolutely nothing to do with race.

As far as race and language are concerned, then, there is no argument but that they are both distinct and independent of each other. The factors which go to form the physical make-up of an individual are passed on from parents to offspring; they are hereditary traits. Language, on the other hand, is learned and acquired after birth and the capacity to learn it is in no way affected by the racial composition of the individual.

THE NAZIS

The use to which the Nazi regime put their race theories stands as a warning to the working-class of the dangers they fall victim to when they lend a willing ear to them. The Nazis, coldly and deliberately, step by step, adapted their theories according to the needs of the occasion. They so defined "Aryan," a distortion in itself as we have already shown, to include every German who was not also a Jew. After the signing of the treaty of alliance with Italy and the subsequent formation of the "Rome-Berlin Axis," they carefully amended their doctrines to include their new allies, though according to their former ideas the Italians belonged to an inferior racial

group. The most amazing example of their contempt for fact was when they squared the circle to provide the necessary racial basis for their alliance with Japan. To do this, they had to specifically exempt the Japanese from the ranks of the non-Aryans and by other devious, doubtful, and unconvincing means, they attempted to wriggle round the glaring contradictions between their theory and their practice.

With the Nazis the doctrines of racialism reached their logical and inevitable conclusion: the complete and utter pros-

titution of the true facts to the false theory. The absurdities of previous racialists appear sensible when compared with the efforts of their counterparts in Nazi Germany. As for the results of these doctrines in terms of human suffering and misery, they defy description. Millions of human beings finally fell victims to the Nazis' policy of racial extermination.

Extracts from THE RACIAL PROBLEM.

Published by the

Socialist Party of Great Britain.

Coroner's Court

THE Court Room was small and unimpressive, rather like the old type of school class room, with varnished pine wood and green paint. One hears continually about officialdom being impersonal and flinty in its dealings. That was not apparent here, however. The atmosphere was kindly and unruffled, but the business was conducted with an air of efficient deliberation.

This day was one of the many normal routine sessions. No ghastly murder to attract the press, nor mysterious death of a famous personality to pack the small room with prominent names. In that room the unknown personal tragedies of our society for a brief while became picked out of the mass and enlarged as on a screen. It soon became clear that this kind of thing went on for session after session, year upon year. The accidents, the suicides, the medical evidence, the autopsy reports couched in precise medical terms, made the mind reel at the variety and immensity of the social problems they revealed.

On leaving the Court Room and coming into the bustle of everyday life, one's thoughts dwelt over and over again on what had been heard. There was the down-and-out misfit, practically unknown in life, who at death had acquired a dossier that would be the envy of a pop singer's publicity manager. The tramp was one of those unhappy few who have somehow locked themselves away from society, defying all the meagre efforts of the welfare workers to become "rehabilitated." Yes, meagre. After all, why should our Capitalist society spend large sums on reclaiming odd members of the working class?

There are always plenty of active, healthy ones available for exploitation.

Then there was the teen-age boy and his pillion passenger girl friend out for a trial run on a new motor-bike. It took days to get the list of injuries and causes of death out of the mind. One of the lad's friends gave evidence (he was following behind on another bike). His statements were delivered in a seemingly disinterested fashion, as though everyone expected youth to sacrifice themselves for speed because life had nothing else to offer except to "knock up a ton (100 m.p.h.) on the by-pass."

Other cases followed. There was the small child who unthinkingly dashed into the road and was killed by a passing car. A common enough accident, so common in fact that we now almost accept it as a necessary evil. The elderly woman subject to falls, but who had nobody to watch over her in her lonely back room.

On reflection one realised that all of these personal problems were bound up with our social pattern of living. What is wrong with our society that has its children condemned to play alongside lethal metal juggernauts? That cannot look after its old ones, or find a place for its misfits? Just think about these problems that continually confront us, and observe that—no matter how varied—they are all linked to our basic social system. A society based on property, with profits, wars, poverty and privilege, will always throw up its human wrecks. The coroner's court is only one of the many places where they are inspected.

JACK LAW.



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50 Years Ago

THE FREETHINKERS

Mankind is prone to many errors. When, for instance, one mistake has been discovered and the error removed, many men fancy they have rid themselves of all wrong notions. Those people who, because they have abandoned certain religious superstitions are fond of calling themselves Freethinkers, often imagine they have banished superstition from their minds altogether. Vain delusion. The bulk of the so called Freethinkers, including their leading propagandists (such as C. Bradlaugh, G. W. Foote, and J. M. Robertson) still accept and repeat the wholly unsupported assertion of the parson Malthus, that the cause of poverty is over-population. In spite of the example of Ireland, which, under their very eyes, has had its population steadily decreasing during the last 50 years, yet the misery of its working-class continuing, they reiterate the same old superstition like the parsons they so often condemn.

*From the SOCIALIST STANDARD,
February, 1910.*

What is Morality?

MORALITY is not, as High Court Judges and Humanists would have us believe, a firm base of fixed, immutable rules of behaviour, by which all decent men should lead their lives. Rather it is a quicksand of changing shape, colour and size. Yesterday's moral precept becomes today's flouted rule, and yesterday's music-hall joke can become today's unwritten law. To look upon moral and ethical rules as constants is to ignore social change, which itself changes the content, and sometimes the form, of these rules.

The doctrine "Thou shalt not kill," for instance, is not an eternal ideal thought up by some good holy man. It is the application of a common sense rule of behaviour made necessary by man's very social existence. Even then it is a rule which is subject to numerous qualifications, and in time of war it is almost wholly ignored. Even so, it is an ethic which arises from man's collaboration for social production, and in the absence of this and similar rules, social organisation would be impossible.

To understand why morality and ethics change, we must look at the social organisation which forms their background. For instance, in primitive societies where simple agriculture forms the basis of production and where there is no competition with other tribes for the means of subsistence, one is likely to find that murder and the slaughter of war are almost unknown. On the other hand, in hunting communities where there was population pressure on the hunting grounds available, it was usual to find warlike tendencies in evidence, and also to find that the ability to kill members of rival tribes was a highly respected attribute.

Morality then, is no more than a set of rules, established during the course of time and designed to protect and preserve the productive relationships in operation at any one period. Under capitalism, with its class ownership of the productive forces, one finds a corresponding class morality, with its sacred Ark, private property.

Christians will object that the Ten Commandments and the Sermon on the Mount provide ethics that are timeless, and which existed long before capitalism. The fact is, however, that these Christian principles do not represent the current moral standards, and as Bernard Shaw pointed out, the literal following of such principles would lead to the collapse of capitalism. What use does a competitive society have for the injunction "Love thy neighbour"? The practical ethics of capitalism are "get on," "keep up with the Joneses" or "may the best man win." Where would capitalism be if people followed Jesus's injunction to share their worldly goods? In actual fact, of course, such ethics have no practical application in modern

society at all, and have no chance of becoming generally held in a property society.

Modern society, with its morality, prevents human nature from fulfilment, in the sense that it chains the mind and body with economic and mental fetters. The practical ethics of the modern world are the real fetters, and not the professed morality of the Christian or the traditional "good man."

Take a look at the way in which these practical ethics depart from the so-called fixed moral codes. The prohibition against taking life, as already mentioned, is important in the prevention of civil disobedience and the maintenance of capitalist law and order, but does not extend far enough to prevent the execution of certain classes of murderers, or the slaughter of the troops and civilians of an enemy state. "Thou shalt not steal" is perhaps the most important of the ideal ethics and the one with which the powers of the law are most concerned. The meaning of this one is distorted so as to prevent people taking property from the ruling class (who have the only property worth stealing), but on the other hand, allows the exploitation in the factory and office by which the ruling class acquires its property. It also sanctioned the annexation of land and property from the Colonial native populations, by which the great Christian British Empire was created.

If, then, the form and content of morality is twisted and distorted to fit the social pattern of a particular society why should its form remain at all? To answer this, one has to look into the basis and origin of morality itself.

Co-operation

Morality is as old as human social organisation. Its origin is in co-operation. The members of a tribe who depended upon each other for their survival, obeyed the social injunction to defend the tribe and to perform their social tasks. The imperative "protect your kin" arose out of the necessity of the situation, and certainly not from idealism or abstract thought. In a situation such as this members of a tribe recognised their dependence on each other. Thus to perform one's social tasks promptly and efficiently had merit, and to fail to perform them was bad, because it threatened the tribe. In time, injunctions such as these formed the basis of an organised morality.

So society passed from primitive tribal culture with its primitive ethics, through the Judaic tribes and the elaborate rules and doctrines of the Talmud, down to Christianity with its slave ethics of humility and love of one's neighbour. Then, after 1500 years of Christianity, industrial society appeared, and made nonsense of Christian doctrine. Society became a jungle, where the fiercest sur-

vived and the weaker perished. Thus terms like "blessed are the meek" were mocked by the reality of the situation. Efforts of well-meaning people to stem the tide were akin to the traveller who tries to placate a tiger by reading biblical texts to it. However, the Churches themselves didn't try too hard to alter the pattern of capitalism, for they were practical people, and they knew that to compromise was the only way to survive.

The Catholic Church, for example, which was the original Christian church, has a mass of impressive dogma which urges the holy to be good, kind, peaceable and so on. Nevertheless, the Church itself was not so foolish as to take these injunctions too literally, and followed the same practical morality as the world outside. This is the explanation of the apparent contradictions between Christian teaching and the Inquisition, and between the ten commandments and the "holy" wars.

Basically, it is the division of mankind into classes which today creates the split between the kind of morality which most people would consider desirable, and the day-to-day activities of a competitive world. After all, morality is only the form of expected behaviour within the framework of a particular social system. Therefore, morality has relevance only to the practical possibilities of a social situation, and not to ideals. Where the possibilities are, as today, limited by economic circumstances, it is inevitable that morality also becomes limited and one-sided.

In other words, because there is a ruling class, today's morality is of a kind dictated by, and in favour of, that ruling class. This does not mean that there is one law for the rich and another for the poor. It merely means that today's morality favours the privileged, and is designed to preserve that privilege. Some examples of this one-sided morality have been given. Another example is that of the tax-dodgers, bilkers, people who avoid paying their fare and so on. This is something that government spokesmen

RACE PREJUDICE

The root cause of modern race-prejudice is the capitalist system of society, a society of competition and struggle; struggle between capitalist and worker; struggle between capitalist and capitalist; struggle between worker and worker.

For the working-class, who constitute the overwhelming majority of its population, it is a society of poverty and insecurity: to most of them it offers not the slightest chance of escape from a lifetime

of constant, heart-breaking effort to earn a living. For the working-class, it is a society which breeds war and strife, in which their masters, on whose behalf they fight, use every device to stimulate antagonism and hatred between them. From the cradle to the grave, they are subjected to a mass of propaganda which deadens their minds, works on their prejudices, and endeavours by every means possible to turn their thoughts away from the real cause of their troubles. They are the tools of political leaders and demagogues who make them promises which they do not keep. Disappointed, they exchange one set of political leaders for another, whose promises are no more fulfilled than the promises of those before them.

They become disillusioned, bitter, and

say is undesirable, and yet is, to a considerable extent, regarded as fair game. The man who pays fivepence for a sevenpenny fare feels he is gaining a victory at the expense of a vast impersonal organisation, but his gain is hardly worth the trouble involved. On the other hand, practically all business-men conduct a ceaseless war with the Inspector of Taxes, in order to avoid payment of tax, and a vast complicated machinery of Inspectors, Collectors, Commissioners, Accountants, clerks and so on, exists because of this. As everyone else does this, the business-man does not feel that he is doing anything immoral, although it is impossible to reconcile his behaviour with those moral principles that he probably believes in.

Thus, although mankind is neither "naturally" good or evil, the prevailing social circumstances determine to a large extent the way in which they will conduct their lives. It is because man is organised in a social way and because his survival depends on co-operation with others, that most people recognise perfectly well what is the right course in a particular situation and what is the wrong course. The trouble is that the practical circumstances of modern society make it almost impossible for people to behave in a way that is to the common good.

In other words, a truly human morality cannot exist in a world where people's bodies and minds are imprisoned by the amoral "morality" of a sick society. Neither can the social circumstances be made more favourable by trying to convert people to a selfless and more human morality, for this is like trying to uproot a tree while resting in the top branches.

First, man must free himself from economic domination. Then, and only then, will he be able to take the tremendous strides in morality necessary for him to achieve full stature as truly human man.

A.W.I.

cynical; fair game for dictators and "strong men" who promise to lead them to a "promised land," but instead lead them into greater disasters and misfortunes. All the time they are experiencing unemployment, poverty, insecurity, competition for jobs, struggles to "rise up the ladder." They seek to escape from the harsh world of reality in dreams and games of make-believe, in football pools and cinemas, but only for brief moments, for capitalism soon brings them back to things as they are, and not as they would wish them to be. They still have to contend with poverty, unemployment, insecurity, and war. For the working-class, capitalism is a society of mental, social, and economic frustration; as such it breeds race-prejudice as a swamp breeds pestilence.

TRANSPORT AND INDUSTRIAL GROWTH (2)

The First Age of Speed

SHORT as was the hey-day of canal transport the supremacy of the "flying coaches" was even shorter, from about 1810 to the late 1830's. The Golden Age of coaching lasted a mere generation but it has held the popular imagination for over a century.

Unlike their floating counterparts—the canal packet-boats that have been forgotten—the stage coaches are a familiar feature to people who were born long after their disappearance. They have a romantic appeal that was fostered by Victorian writers who looked back to them with nostalgia once the noisy, smoky locomotive had taken their place.

But there was nothing romantic about coach travel. It developed in an age of ruthless competition, in fact the first age of speed, when speed became important for its own sake. Men and horses were driven ruthlessly to keep to strict schedules and constant efforts were made to clip minutes off travelling times. The *Comet* on the London to Exeter run aimed to change horses at Hounslow near London in 30 seconds.

It was understandable, that after centuries of painfully slow travel, a smooth and swift transport system should appeal to people, but fantastic risks were taken that often resulted in accidents. Wealthy idiots would drive private carriages at break-neck speeds and would even bribe coach drivers to let them take the reins of the public coaches. But in spite of this it was still an efficient transport system that would have seemed impossible only a few years before. This system was made possible by the far reaching improvements in road construction and bridge building that had taken place at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries.

Medieval Roads

The hopeless state of the roads during the first half of the 18th century that had led to canal construction, led also to constant agitation for road improvement. One 18th century cartoon portrays a sailor with a wooden leg refusing an offer of a lift in a coach saying "No thanks I'm in a hurry." But the problem was a complex one. Since the departure of the Romans 1300 years before no properly constructed roads had been built on any large scale. The Romans had built with great thoroughness, their roads often being five feet in depth and carried across swampy land on piles driven down to firm soil. After over a thousand years of neglect they were still the best roads in England in spite of having been robbed for stone.

The roads of Medieval Britain were, in short, little better than the farm tracks of today. Medieval man regarded a

road as a right of way rather than a permanent highway. A person or vehicle had a right of passage "without let or hindrance" but no more. If the road was impassable a traveller had the right to pass along the edge of the road even through standing crops. Pack-horse trains on finding a track in a bad condition would tread out a new one alongside. In this way a number of parallel tracks would be formed, sometimes covering a hundred yards or more. This situation survives today in the public "rights of way" through the countryside where there is the right of passage from point to point but no obligation to provide a surface to the path. Medieval man could manage with such an arrangement but a growing industrial country could not.

Turnpike Roads

By the 18th century, responsibility for the upkeep of the roads had been thrust on to the unwilling parishes. The parishes were responsible for all roads that passed through them and the work had to be done without payment. A surveyor had to be appointed for a year, to organise the work. This official was forced to accept the job and was unpaid. The inhabitants were forced to work without pay for a number of days a year and the parish had to supply all tools, materials and horses free of charge. Under these circumstances very little real work was done. At the same time the parishes were fiercely independent and resisted any attempt at a central control.

To meet this problem the Turnpike System came into being. Barriers were set up on the road and anyone passing through had to pay tolls which went to pay for the road's upkeep. Turnpike trusts were set up to administer the system, the first Turnpike Act being passed in 1663. From the beginning there was bitter and violent opposition. The canals and the later railways were privately owned and after the necessary Act of Parliament had been obtained work could go on with little or no regard for anybody affected. But the roads were public and the idea of charging tolls for their use aroused tremendous resentment. Tollgates were destroyed, gate-keepers were attacked and sometimes murdered and their houses burned down. The Government retaliated by extending the death penalty for offences against the turnpikes. Although with the passage of time opposition died down, the system was never popular and riots would break out from time to time. This attitude was strengthened by the Turnpike trusts themselves. In the main they were corrupt and regarded the income from tolls as something to be milked, consequently road improvement was very slow.

Not until late in the 18th century did the need for well-constructed and therefore expensive roads become generally accepted.

The canals had been constructed to carry heavy goods. It was to carry coal, not people, that the first one had been constructed. After they were built their obvious advantages led to the development of passenger traffic. But the reasons for constructing good roads were many and various. Firstly military. The first good roads since the Roman occupation were built in the highlands of Scotland by the British army under General Wade when about 400 miles of roads were built. This was after the Jacobite rebellion of 1715 and the purpose was to subdue the highlands by making troop movements easy.

It was many years after this before good roads were constructed in other parts of the country. Other reasons were the growth of the postal system, the development of the Inland Spas and later the new seaside resorts where the wealthy landowner and the rising Capitalist class went to spend the wealth that they had wrung from the "dark Satanic mills." There was also travel for commercial reasons, which grew as industry grew.

After the roads had been built their advantages for general transport became obvious. During the later part of the century first Metcalf, then Telford and Macadam, began a great construction programme that included not only roads but bridges, docks and harbours as well as improvements to canals. The political need for easy access to Ireland gave rise to one of the most important of schemes, the London to Holyhead road which included the famous suspension bridge over the dangerous Menai Straits.

The first mail coach ran from London to Bath in 1784 and the system rapidly spread. The mail coaches were the "aristocrats" of the road and travelled free of charge. Toll gates had to be opened immediately and there were heavy fines for delaying them. Their first duty was to deliver the mail but they also carried passengers. Their fierce rivals were the stage coaches, which were privately-owned public transport coaches. First class passengers travelled inside, an second class on the roof, and to meet the competition of the Mail coaches constant efforts were made to improve speeds and general conditions. In addition, there were the faster and even more expensive Post coaches that carried inside passengers only. These were for people who objected to the rowdy second class passengers on the roof. The really wealthy travelled in private carriages. All of these coaches were expensive and the

lumbering broad-wheeled stage-wagons carrying both passengers and freight catered for poorer people, but even these were beyond the reach of a vast number of people. Another feature of the roads were the flocks of animals and birds being driven into the towns for food.

Steam Carriages

In the early 19th century a new and revolutionary form of travel appeared—the steam carriage. These in the early stages were noisy and cumbersome and were regarded with suspicion but they were soon showing signs of being a serious rival to the horse-drawn coaches. Services both long-distance and within cities, began and unheard of speeds were reached. But the Turnpike trusts feared the damage that they would do to the roads and imposed crippling tolls on them—as much as £3 a time. This, together with legislation restricting them to a speed of 4 miles an hour, drove the steam carriages from the roads. By their action the Turnpike trust helped to seal their own fate for the steam locomotive, transferred to rails, was to destroy them. During their lifetime the coaches built up a vast supporting industry. In addition to over 30,000 people employed by the coach companies themselves, there were the numerous inns to cater for the needs of the traveller, the tollgate keepers and a vast army of ostlers, and road-menders needed to keep the coaches on the road. There were also such supporting industries as coach-builders and harness makers, and all the lesser fry such as shoe blacks who managed to scrape a living serving the coaches. When the crash came it was complete for unlike the canals the coaches relied mainly on passenger transport and could not survive the competition from the very much faster trains. The distress and poverty that was caused to the unfortunate workers in the industry is vividly described by Dickens.

Some of the labour force was absorbed into the new railways but many sank into increased poverty as capitalism ruthlessly advanced, creating new industries as it destroyed the old.

By 1850 the roads were deserted and becoming grass grown and the once bustling inns which had milked passengers by outrageous charges struggled on as country pubs. Toll-gate keepers who had joined with the Turnpike Trusts in taking their cut from the tolls now sold sweets and repaired boots in their crumbling and neglected lodges. It was to be half a century before the roads once again became an important feature of transport.

DALE.

NOTICES

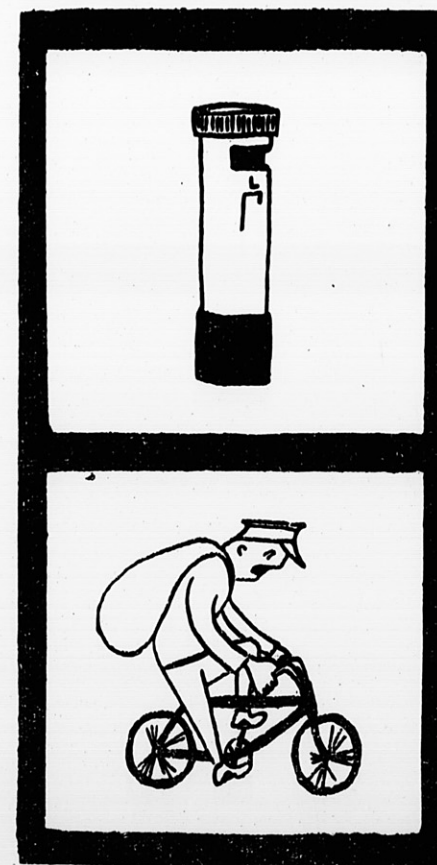
THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the S.P.G.B. Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4, at 7.30 p.m.

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CORRESPONDENCE for the Executive Committee should be sent to the General Secretary, S.P.G.B., 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4 (Telephone: Macaulay 3811).

LETTERS containing postal orders, etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, S.P.G.B., at the above address. Postal orders and cheques should be crossed and made payable to the S.P.G.B.

March 20th
AFRICA MEETING
Denison House, 7.30



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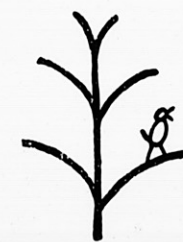
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from the Branches

A glance at the meetings column at the front of the SOCIALIST STANDARD will give a good idea of the propaganda activity of the Party. The Clerkenwell Road (Central Club) meetings are held on Sundays and have been arranged by the Propaganda Committee. As this is a new venue, the Committee especially welcome comrades to give the meetings their regular support. If successful, this hall could be a regular one for the Party to hold meetings, and these become a feature as did the old Trade Union Club meetings which ended with the closing down of the Club.

For members and friends who have easier access to South London, the Film lectures at Head Office, held every Sunday, are another aspect of the Party's propaganda. It will be seen also that several London branches hold discussions and lectures after branch business.

WOOLWICH

Woolwich Branch report that they have concluded another year of useful activity. Apart from many discussions on aspects of capitalism and the Party case, branch members have been busy canvassing the SOCIALIST STANDARD and other Party literature. Visitors are welcome to the Branch meetings, held the second and fourth Friday in each month. (See page 18.) Many good meetings have been held at the local outdoor station, Beresford Square, and with greater support from Branch and other comrades these meetings could play a very successful part in the propaganda work of the Party.

DOWN UNDER

A copy of an Air Line magazine has been sent to us and the centre page comprises a drawing depicting the typical Sunday afternoon scene in "The Domain"—Sydney. It states that the "listener may expect to hear almost any cause expounded with passionate conviction." The reason this is mentioned here is that a large part of the drawing depicts a speaker on a platform, the latter bearing the word "SOCIALIST." Without doubt the speaker shown in the drawing is none other than Comrade

Thorburn, for many years a speaker for the SPGB. He is now a member of the Socialist Party of Australia, carrying on the work for Socialism there that he did when in Britain.

PADDINGTON

Paddington Branch have been running since the Autumn a very successful series of discussions at their regular meeting place, "The Olive Branch." Russia, living standards, Catholicism, human needs, D. H. Lawrence, the problems of communicating ideas—these among many other topics have stimulated lively debate. Their branch room is cosy, their members friendly, and the Bar (downstairs!) near enough to provide necessary refreshment. Paddington members' only real vice is their unpunctuality (note, 8.30 is the starting time), they make up for this by lateness in finishing, and after being turned out by the irate landlord at past 11, they adjourn to a nearby coffee bar and discuss on to midnight. Paddington meets every Wednesday and non-members are especially welcome.

FROM THE WEST

From Ireland and America too we have had reports of good work and propaganda. It is hoped to have fuller details of the activities in these countries in the March issue, but meanwhile it is heartening to know that the case for Socialism is being so well and widely propagated.

T. S. HOFFMAN

Comrade T. S. Hoffman died on 13th November, 1959, at the age of 78, joining Bloomsbury Branch in March, 1940, and since then he regularly attended his branch, often walking miles—no matter what the weather—to get there. He was modest in manner and dress and although never publicly prominent, he gladly helped the Party with financial contributions at great sacrifice to himself. A good comrade and a sound Socialist, who served the party well.

P. H.

The Passing Show

In a letter to *The Times* Maurice Macmillan, the Conservative M.P. and Chairman of the Wider Share Ownership Committee, wrote as follows (18/12/59):

Your leading article on wider shareholding on December 14th draws attention to the Acton Society Trust's conclusion that this is a socially desirable goal, and that among employees there is very little opposition on political grounds to the idea of owning shares.

Mr. Macmillan's Committee is, he says, examining "the problems involved," including the "means of overcoming the feeling that share buying is for the rich." Many workers will hope that the Committee will also study another of the "problems involved": where the money is going to come from. Mr. Macmillan only describes as a "feeling" the belief that share buying is for the rich. His committee—which includes "joint stock and merchant bankers, stockbrokers, unit trust and investment directors, well known industrialists," and so on, could soon overcome this feeling by distributing enough money to the workers for them to buy shares with. Judging from the description of the committee-members, they could well afford a few thousands for this praiseworthy cause. They would find workers ready enough to keep some of the surplus value for themselves, instead of seeing it taken away for distribution among the non-workers. But supposing, Mr. Macmillan, that the workers got too enthusiastic about keeping surplus value for themselves. Supposing they decided that since they produce all this surplus value, they would keep it all for themselves, and not let any of it be stolen from them for the support of idlers. Supposing, in a word, that they introduced Socialism. What then? How soon your committee-members would disband, about face, and form a "Narrower Share Holding Committee"! Perhaps you had better think again before encouraging workers to keep some of the surplus value for themselves.

FIFTH COLUMN

But let us examine the deeper implications of Mr. Macmillan's proposals. Of course, the stockbrokers and unit

trust directors on the committee would like more people to buy shares, since that would mean more business for them. And, of course, all the committee members would like some workers to own a handful of shares, since then they would be tempted to oppose strikes and other forms of workers' self-defence, to safeguard the extra pound or two they would get as dividends. It would be planting a ruling class fifth column among the workers. One doesn't have to say who would gain most from this, the worker with his ten shares or the employer with his thousand.

But, however much the committee would like this to happen, on any significant scale it just isn't practicable. Capitalism can only exist on the backs of a propertyless working class. Wherever capitalism, either private or state, has appeared, one of the essential prerequisites has been the divorce of the mass of people from any ownership of the means of production—the peasant has been robbed of his land, the hand-worker forced from his tools. If the individual was left as a small producer, he could not be compelled to take on the stultifying, monotonous, deadening jobs which he must do to keep capitalism going, and the ruling class rich.

The same applies now. If any significant numbers of workers were to own shares sufficient to support them without working, there wouldn't be enough people left to do the work which must be done to keep capitalism alive. Mr. Macmillan needn't worry about this happening, however. For all employers are continually trying to keep down their workers' wages. As soon as numbers of workers began to own shares, this would weaken their will to resist the lowering of wages (either by direct cuts or by inflation); and as wages fell, so even those workers owning shares would have to sell them to make ends meet.

To sum up, one might say that Mr. Macmillan and his committee are pursuing by impracticable means an impossible end, and one which would horrify them if they ever did attain it.

COBWEBS

In the public wrangle among Labour Party leaders, which has followed their

Important Socialist Lectures

**Central Club
Clerkenwell Road
Sundays 7.30**

Full details on page 18

third successive defeat at the polls, Douglas Jay, Labour M.P. for Battersea North, came out with the following (*Daily Herald*, 27/11/59):—

The other frankly Marxist cobweb is the belief that Socialism consists in turning the whole of industry and trade into a State monopoly.

This belief is certainly a cobweb. We have had more than enough demonstrations of the fact that state ownership of industry is merely state capitalism: the workers in state industry are still just as much exploited as those in private industry, the only difference being that the interests of the capitalist class as a whole are allowed rather more influence in its running, as against the interests of the private shareholders in that particular industry. It is an alteration made by the capitalist class for their own benefit, and has no more to do with Socialism than the manoeuvres on the Stock Exchange.

So far we agree with Douglas Jay. But what on earth made Mr. Jay describe this operation as "Marxist"? Marx and Engels believed in a new society, where each would contribute according to his ability, and would receive according to his needs: this involving, of course, the end of our present wage-slavery, which is an integral feature of state as of private capitalism. If Mr. Jay has come across any evidence to the contrary, he should really let the rest of us into the secret.

ALWYN EDGAR.

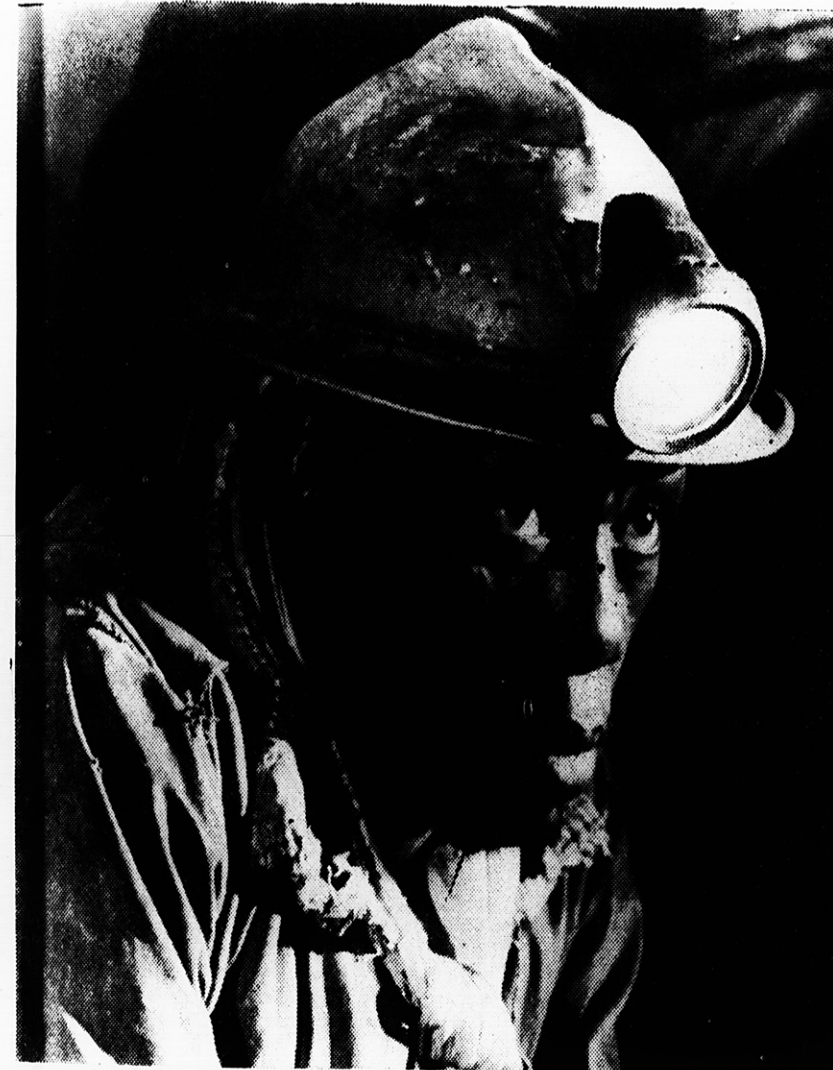
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SPECIAL AFRICAN ISSUE

MARCH 1960

No. 667 Vol. 56

**SOCIALIST
STANDARD**



A Gold Miner from the film "Come Back Africa"

AFRICA 1960

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Can it be effective **THE BOYCOTT**

One world, one people **SOCIALISM**

JOURNAL OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

6^p

BRANCHES

Visitors are cordially invited to every meeting

- BASILDON.** Thursdays 7.30 p.m., Craylands County Secondary School, Basildon. Correspondence: R. H. Bowie, Cranford, Basil Drive, Laindon, Essex.
- BIRMINGHAM.** Thursdays 8 p.m., "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month. Enquiries to H. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road, Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.
- BLOOMSBURY.** 1st and 3rd Thursdays (March 3 and 17) in month 7.30 p.m. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.
- BRADFORD & DISTRICT.** Correspondence: Peter Hall, 10 Spring Grove Terrace, Leeds 6. Tel.: Bradford 71904 any time.
- CAMBERWELL.** Mondays 8 p.m., 52 Clapham High St., S.W.4. Correspondence: H. Baldwin, 334 South Lambeth Road, Stockwell, S.W.8.
- DARTFORD.** Fridays 8 p.m., Dartford Labour Club, Lowfield St., Dartford. Discussions after business. Correspondence: W. G. Catt, 32 Ickleton Road, Mottingham, S.E.9.
- EALING.** Fridays 8 p.m. Memorial Hall, Windsor Rd., Ealing (nr. Broadway). Correspondence: E. T. Critchfield, 48 Balfour Road, W.13.
- ECCELES.** 2nd Friday (March 11) in month, 7.30 p.m., 5 Gaskell Road, Eccles. Correspondence: F. Lea at above address.
- FULHAM & CHELSEA.** 1st and 3rd Thursdays (Mar. 3 discussion and 17 business) in month 8 p.m. "Kings Head", 4 Fulham High Street, S.W.6. (nr. Putney Bridge). Correspondence: L. Cox, 22 Victoria House, Ebury Bridge Rd. SW1. Tel. SLO 5258.
- GLASGOW (City).** Alternate Wednesdays (March 2 16, and 30) 8 p.m. Religious Institute Rooms, 200 Buchanan Street, C.1. Correspondence: T. A. Mulheron, 366 Aikenhead Road, Glasgow, S.2.
- GLASGOW (Kelvingrove).** Alternate Mondays (March 14 and 28) 8 p.m., Partick Burgh Halls, Partick. Correspondence: R. Donnelly, 50 Doncaster Street, Glasgow, N.W.
- HACKNEY.** Wednesdays 7.30 p.m., Bethnal Green Town Hall, Room 3 (Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: W. Ivimey, 12a, Connaught Grange, Connaught Gardens, N.13.
- ISLINGTON.** Thursdays 8 p.m., Co-op. Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N.7. Lecture or discussion after business. Correspondence: R. E. Carr, SPGB, c/o above address.
- KINGSTON-upon-THAMES.** Fridays 8 p.m., 19 Spencer Road, East Molesey. Correspondence: Secretary, at above address. Tel.: Mol 6492.
- LEWISHAM.** Mondays 8 p.m., Co-op. Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, S.E.6. Correspondence: P. Hart, 22 Gt. Elms Road, Bromley. Tel.: Rav 7811.
- NOTTINGHAM.** Wednesdays 7.30 p.m., Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street. Correspondence: Secretary, R. Powe, 8 Swains Avenue, Carlton Road.
- PADDINGTON.** Wednesdays 8.30 p.m., "The Olive Branch," Crawford Street, W.1. (corner Homer Street, nr. Marylebone Road). Discussions after business. Correspondence: C. May, 1 Hanover Road, N.W.10.
- SOUTHEND.** 1st Tuesday (March 1), 19 Kingswood Chase, Leigh-on-Sea; 3rd Tuesday (March 15), 17 Cotswold Road, Westcliff-on-Sea; in each month, 7.30 p.m. Correspondence: Dick Jacobs, at above latter address.
- WEST HAM.** Thursdays 8 p.m., Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E.12. Discussions from 9 p.m. Correspondence: D. Deutz, 80 Bowdsey Ave., Ilford, Essex.
- WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY.** Fridays 7.30 p.m., 146 Inderwick Road, Hornsey, N.8 (41 bus to Tottenham Lane, nr. "Hope & Anchor"). Correspondence: Secretary, at above address.
- WOOLWICH.** 2nd and 4th Fridays (March 11 and 25) in month, 7.30 p.m., Town Social Club, Mason's Hill, S.E.18. Discussions at 8 p.m. Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens, Eltham, S.E.9.

DISCUSSION AND STUDY GROUPS

- BRISTOL.** Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Backfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2. Tel.: 24680.
- CHELTHENHAM.** Enquiries: Ken Smith, 338 Swindon Road.
- DORKING & DISTRICT.** Enquiries: O.C. Iles, "Ashleigh" Townfield Rd., Dorking.
- MANCHESTER.** Enquiries: J. M. Breakey, 2 Dennison Avenue, Manchester 20. Tel.: Did 5709.
- MITCHAM & DISTRICT.** Tuesday (March 22), 8 p.m., "White Hart," Mitcham Cricket Green. Enquiries: T. Lord, 283 Church Road, Mitcham.
- NEWPORT & DISTRICT.** Meetings at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport (Details advertised in *South Wales Argus*). Enquiries M. Harris, 25 Court Farm Estate, Cwmbran, nr. Newport, Mon.
- OLDHAM.** Wednesdays 7.30 p.m., 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees, at above address. Tel.: Mai 5165.
- REDHILL.** Enquiries: A. A. Kemp, 19 Ashcombe Rd., Merstham, Redhill, Surrey.
- SUSSEX.** Enquiries: W. Craske, "Hazelcroft," Green Road, Wivelsfield Green, Sussex.
- SWANSEA.** Enquiries: V. Brain, 17 Brynawellon, Pencelliog, Llanelli, Glam.

MEETINGS

AFRICA, AFRICA

- Mar. 20th Public Meeting, 7.30 p.m. Denison House, Victoria, S.W.1, in association with the special Africa issue of the Socialist Standard. (see page 48 for details)

GLASGOW MEETING

- St. Andrews Hall, Door G, Room 2, Berkeley Street, Monday, 7th March, 7.30 p.m.
- Mar. 7th Jews, Jackboots & Jingoism
T. A. Mulheron, R. Donnelly

SUNDAY LECTURES

A series of lectures at Central Club (Small Hall), 127 Clerkenwell Road, Grays Inn Road, E.C.1., (next to Holborn Hall) at 7.30 p.m.

HISTORY & THE WORLD TODAY

- Mar. 6th Paris Commune & the Role of the State I. Jones
- Mar. 13th The Socialist Revolution S. Michael

DOCUMENTARY FILMS

Documentary Films followed by brief Socialist comment at Head Office, 52 Clapham High Street, S.W.4, every Sunday at 7.30 p.m. Questions and discussion are encouraged which can be continued in the Social Room afterwards when light refreshments will be on sale.

- Mar. 6th Of Human Rights
- Mar. 13th The Vanished People P. Lawrence
- Mar. 20th African Conflict
- Mar. 27th Cumberland Story
- April 3rd A Time Out of War C. Wilson

BETHNAL GREEN LECTURE

Bethnal Green Town Hall (Room 3), Cambridge Heath Road, E.2, Wednesday, March 9th, 8 p.m.

- Mar. 9th Art & the Rise of Capitalism E. Kersley

ISLINGTON LECTURE

Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N.1, Thursday, March 10th at 8 p.m.

- Mar. 10th Banks and Credit E. Hardy

LEWISHAM DISCUSSIONS

Co-op. Hall, Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, S.E.6, alternate Mondays at 8.15 p.m.

- Mar. 14th Africa Today and Tomorrow

LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS

- Sundays Hyde Park, 3.30 p.m.
East Street, Walworth
- Thursdays Tower Hill, 12.30 p.m.

SOCIALIST
STANDARD

Journal of the SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

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AFRICA

IN writing on Africa, more than one historian has drawn attention to an important factor dominating the history of the continent up to the second half of the 19th century—its isolation. For instance, Alexander Campbell, writing in his book *Empire in Africa*, likens it to a gigantic saucer rimmed with mountains and sealed for thousands of years from nearly all human contact with the outside world. Most of the rivers there are not easily navigable for more than a short distance from their mouths, owing to rapids and falls. The outstanding exception is the Nile, but even this has cataracts in its middle and upper reaches which prohibit navigation. This discouraged settlers from trying to penetrate the interior and acted also as an obstacle to any native attempts to "break out."

Conditions of existence must have been grim indeed. In the equatorial regions there was swamp and thick forest to face, whilst elsewhere natives scratched a bare living out of large areas of desert and bush. The African was subjected to a wide range of climates, most of them hostile; and in general, the soil was harsh and unrewarding. Harassed further by pests and diseases of all kinds, and the ravages of the tse-tse fly, it is little wonder that he remained "backward" for so long. Doctor Livingstone found people who were unaware of the name of a hill or tribe less than twenty miles distant. Hardship, isolation and fear were the lot of the native, and tribal life was hedged round with restrictions and taboos.

Today, we see a very different picture. Africa has been through a period of intensive development over the past sixty years. The older capitalist powers carried out extensive colonisation during the "scramble" of the latter 1800's, but now, rising nationalist movements are beginning to challenge the power of such as Britain, France and Belgium, and in some areas have actually won independence. The latest of these is the Belgian

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Congo, which we are told will become independent in June.

This does not mean, however, that foreign capitalists are losing interest in the areas where political control has been relinquished. Heavy investment has been taking place, and indeed has often been welcomed by the new African governments. In Ghana, for example, the greater part of the £342 millions expenditure during the five year plan is to be met by obtaining capital from overseas. As recently as September 1959, a report issued by H.M. Stationery Office gave news of the favourable investment prospects in Ghana. Further north in Egypt, the Russians have financed the Aswan Dam construction, whilst in Algeria hundreds of millions of pounds have been sunk in oil and industry since General De Gaulle became President of France. Here, the battle for control goes on with increased fury, as will have been seen from recent newspaper reports.

With the rise of nationalist feeling, and the breakdown of the old tribal loyalties, a new oppressed section is appearing—the African wage worker, having largely the same problems as his brothers and sisters elsewhere. He has exchanged his white oppressors for those with darker skins, who are ruthlessly determined to develop the new states as rapidly as possible along modern capitalist lines. Like most workers, he has yet to lose his racial prejudices. He has still to realise that "black" capitalism has about as little to offer him as "white" capitalism.

The message of Socialism is world wide however. It reaches across the artificial national boundaries erected by man, and is as much for the ears of the African workers as for others. This month, therefore, we are devoting most of the space in our journal to articles dealing with Africa and its problems, in an attempt to keep clear the real issue facing workers in that continent—as in all other continents—Capitalism, or Socialism.

The End of Colonialism

Africa 1960

At the height of colonialism there were only two independent states in the whole of Africa. Of these one was the Union of South Africa, which represented a kind of indigenous colonialism, with the white minority ruling the black majority. That left Liberia, with its one million inhabitants, as the only native-ruled state. The rest of Africa's 230 millions were divided up into colonies which belonged to half a dozen Western European countries—Britain, France, Spain, Portugal, Belgium and Italy (Germany's colonies having been taken from her after the First World War, and distributed among the victors).

But now the position is revolutionised. By the end of this year two-thirds of the Africans will be under independent African rule (*The Observer*, 3.1.60); and other territories are more than halfway to independence. Of the Arab countries, Egypt, the Sudan, Libya, Tunisia and Morocco have thrown off foreign domination. The extensive countries of what used to be French Equatorial and French West Africa are now independent, either inside or outside the French "Community." In British West Africa, Sierra Leone has an elected African majority, Ghana is independent, Nigeria will be independent this year. Also becoming independent in the next few months are the Belgian Congo, and Somalia, on the Horn of Africa. Tanganyika will have self-government next year, and there are proposals for an elected African majority in Uganda.

How has this come about? The answer is, largely because of the development of commerce and industry in the colonies, which leads to the emergence of a native capitalist class. As *The Observer* (3.1.60) puts it: "New people are rising all the time. Among the Africans there are forceful, intelligent and sometimes brash young nationalists; traders, contractors and careerist politicians cashing-in on independence; serious, highly-principled young intellectuals and Civil Servants." This native capitalist class, with its supporting politicians and intellectuals, is usually able (as in Britain) to get the mass of the people on its side against "the foreigner." When this embryo ruling class reaches a certain stage of development, it becomes aware of the vast opportunities for profit there would be for itself if it could end colonialism and spread industry throughout the whole of its territory.

When this stage is reached, what is the attitude of the imperial power? Unfortunately for the imperialists, empires no longer pay, as John Strachey shows in his recent book, *The End of Empire*. At first they paid, and paid handsomely; but with changing economic conditions, and the increasing expense of the police forces and armies necessary to maintain imperial rule, they have not been profitable to the ruling class as a whole for some years. They still have strategic value, which causes all the trouble in, for example, Cyprus and Malta. But when these considerations can be satisfied, the crippling annual bills for the colonial-based armed forces must make any ruling class

less enthusiastic about colonies. Secondly, capitalists and the supporters of capitalism always believe that their system is the best possible; to them, progress is synonymous with the establishment of capitalism. The setting up of another capitalist state seems to them a great step forward. Of course, no imperialist country will hand over power to a ruling class which would ally itself to a rival bloc; hence the British fight against the Malayan guerrillas who would have taken Malaya into the Soviet camp, as contrasted with the subsequent handing over of power, after the defeat of the guerrillas, to the present Malayan ruling class.

The rest of the capitalist world watches and applauds, partly because it sees its own capitalist ideals put into practice, partly to gain the friendship of the emerging states. Russia is always ready with its help to ex-colonial countries, as can be seen in its financing of Egypt's Aswan Dam project. As for America, the Presidential candidates Nixon (on the Republican side) and Humphrey and Kennedy (on the Democratic) sent strong messages of support to the recent All-Africa People's Conference in Tunis (*The Guardian*, 28.1.60).

The greater part of Africa is now independent or well on its way to independence. The only colonies where no concessions have yet been made are Angola and Mozambique, both belonging to Portugal; these are both less densely populated (having a combined population of only nine million) and less industrialised than most of Africa. But as trade and industry develops, these too will follow the same path.

Settler States

Apart from that, the exceptions to the otherwise universal rule are to be found in the states which have a considerable white settler population—Kenya, Algeria and Rhodesian Federation, and South Africa. In all these states, the government is in the hands of the white landed interests, who regard the development of capitalism with distrust, and who want to keep the Africans as illiterate farm-workers. But the first three of these countries are still colonies, under the suzerainty of European powers. Britain and France are old capitalist states, and have no desire to maintain permanent expensive armies in their colonies in order to uphold the rule of a small minority of white farmers. As in their former "all-black" colonies, they want to set up these territories as independent capitalist democracies.

In the case of Kenya, the Colonial Secretary Mr. Macleod reiterated the aim of the British government as being "to build a nation based on parliamentary institutions and enjoying responsible self-government" (*The Times*, 21.1.60), and refused to grant the settlers' demands that they should continue to have the exclusive right to run the government. Group-Captain Briggs, the principal settlers' leader at the recent Kenya constitutional conference in London, described Mr. Macleod's pro-

posals as "shocking," and went back to Kenya before the conference ended.

As for Algeria, not even open rebellion by the settlers could shake President de Gaulle's decision that the colony must be granted self-determination, based on the wishes of all its peoples. In the Rhodesian Federation, the Southern Rhodesian settlers fear a similar outcome; both the settlers' parties, the United Federal Party and the Dominion Party, have recently threatened to secede from the Federation—obviously hoping that if they surrender Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland to those who wish to establish capitalist democracy, they will be allowed to keep "their" Southern Rhodesian black farm-workers. Even in South Africa, where the whites are twenty per cent. of the population (twice as high as anywhere else in Africa) there are increasing fears for the future. Mr. Macmillan, in his speech to members of both houses of the South African Parliament, told them bluntly he could not support their racial policies, and is reported to have warned Dr. Verwoerd, the Premier, that Britain can no longer support in the United Nations South Africa's contention that the apartheid question is her own domestic concern.

End of an era

So the curtain is falling on colonialism in the last continent where it still had a firm hold. Now there are few countries left in the world which are not driving ahead with industrialisation, under a capitalist ruling class. And as the debris of one historical epoch is cleared away, the stage is set ever more unmistakably for the next act. Capitalism, and the working class which it exploits, are set still more squarely face to face. Socialism, even more than ever before, has become the one genuine political issue confronting the working class.

Help us!

Each month the "Socialist Standard" must come out. Which at present means that each month the party must take a loss of about £20. This cannot go on, as the Party's General Fund is now almost exhausted. There are two things we can do about it. We can do our utmost to sell as many "Standards" as possible. And we can send money to the party funds. The Central Literature Sales Committee are helping to bring about the first. And the party treasurer waiting to take care of the second. Please get in touch with the Literature Sales Committee with your offers of help in selling the "Standard" and let the treasurer have your donation as soon as possible. THIS is urgent.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN



OBJECT

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

- 1 That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.
- 2 That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.
- 3 That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.
- 4 That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.
- 5 That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.
- 6 That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.
- 7 That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desire enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

South Africa

Apartheid

In South Africa since 1948 the tide of political events has been with the Nationalists. During the 12 years since that time, under three leaders—Malan, Strijdom, and now, Verwoerd—they have consolidated and strengthened their hold on the reins of Government. Since that time, against the hostility of the world's press and against the indignation of even the least liberally minded person, they have exerted political power with arrogant confidence and militancy.

A single word has dominated all political discussion related to South Africa since 1948—Apartheid. Nationalists didn't invent the word, but in a political context they gave it a new meaning. In theory at least, the Nationalists are the architects and dedicated builders of Apartheid.

Yet even Nationalists have seen their "cause" in various ways; to Strijdom, it had been a heaven-inspired dedication, the only political means through which the whites of South Africa could "survive." Mr. Verwoerd, the present Prime Minister, has attempted to hide the crude body of Apartheid under a cloak of sophistication. With the best will in the world, he maintains, policies of integration could never work in South Africa. White and black are in every respect quite antithetical. In terms of race and social custom, morality and values, they each stand as the other's opposite, and only policies which take these "facts" into consideration are likely to succeed in South Africa. One respects the separate properties of oil and water, he says, but only folly pours them into the same bucket and expects them to mix readily. Mr. Verwoerd appreciates like no other that oil must float on top of water.

The shrewder political observer knows that so-called Apartheid is a vicious and hate-filled lie. It is the rallying call which even in 1960 can muster the whole history and traditions of Afrikaners solidly behind the Nationalists. In Apartheid, Verwoerd and his colleagues have an emotionally-charged word upon which they successfully conduct their political campaigns. Certainly Apartheid was never an honest and practical policy. Nevertheless, pressed by intellectuals of the Nationalist Party and the weight of

their own propaganda, the Government appointed the Tomlinson Commission to recommend a practical way of putting Apartheid into effect. It was to work out a plan for removing eight million Negroes living in white areas into the already over-populated Negro reserves. In 1956 the Commission reported, and as an early start, envisaged that the Government should begin industries in the reserves with an assistance fund of £25 million. In the longer term, they recommended a 10 year plan costing £104 million. Yet even though many Nationalists were critical of the Commission's report for not going far enough, the Government squashed all its key recommendations as being too costly, drastic and ambitious.

Yet all this does not mean that the Nationalists have not been busy. Even from a liberal reformist standpoint, the Nationalists have shown themselves as one of the world's most reactionary Governments, struggling hard to hold the clock still, if not to move it back.

The turmoil of South African politics reflects not "race conflicts" but economic conflicts. Some Nationalist politicians may well feel heroically cast as the guardians of "white survival," but to translate this into less romantic terms, and to judge them from the real social and economic effects of their policies, they are revealed as the political power of landed interests whose role is to maintain a cheap and abundant supply of labour in farming areas. This has necessarily brought them into conflict with urban industrial capitalists who complain that Nationalist policies are a fetter upon further expansion.

The most important legislation brought in by the Nationalists in recent years has brought about the removal of the Coloured voters from the Electoral Roll and the oppressive Pass laws. Also it included the Group Areas Act and the Bantu Education Act. With the removal of the Coloured voters from the Electoral Roll, the last vestige of democratic participation was taken from all who were not white. With the Bantu Education Act, the Nationalists stopped what formal education was being bestowed upon the Negro population, mainly through Church Schools. They clearly saw this teaching of the "three R's" as being in

the long term adjusted to the needs of a proletariat being slowly integrated into the labour force of a technical community. For decades, but particularly since 1945, the Negroes in South Africa, pushed by their hard conditions as agricultural labourers, have been emigrating to the towns. Seeing in these movements a possible threat to the farmers' labour supply, the Nationalists, with the Group Areas Act and the Pass laws, have arrested the free mobility that African Negroes once enjoyed. It is now a criminal offence for a Negro to move into an urban area and stay there for longer than 72 hours.

"Bantustans"

Currently, the Government has brought in legislation to provide for eight "Bantustans." These will be areas wholly given over to Negro population and, under the administration of the Negroes themselves, claim the Government, adding, of course, that all aspects of policy and the appointment of officials would be subject to government control. The proposals have been variously received. Nationalists claim them as the beginning of the real fulfilment of Apartheid—"a homeland in which the native people can live their own political, economic and cultural lives." (*Johannesburg Star*, 16/2/59). The Institute of Race Relations charges the plan with being a means of dividing up the Negroes on reserves and holding them more widely scattered, in smaller units.

Of all the things that they might eventually be, the Bantustans will never add up to Apartheid in practice. The measures do not disturb the millions of Negroes who live outside the reserves and upon whose labour the South African economy has come to depend.

The complaints from capitalists have been many and almost daily a dark shadow of early economic ruin is drawn behind Nationalist policies. To the urban industrialists, so-called Apartheid means high wages to white semi-skilled workers, where Negroes would do the job more enthusiastically for a third the wage. It means enormous additions to industrial overheads, especially for the provision of extra buildings and workshops, exits and entrances, toilets, can-

teens and washing facilities, all politically necessary but economically superfluous. It means only the weakest trickle of capital from abroad, whilst foreign investors, especially Americans, await a complete re-orientation of Government policy. Apartheid places the South African economy in a straight-jacket, whilst industrialists look on in bewildered frustration at seeing a vast reservoir of Negro labour being greedily retained as mere farm labourers.

In the modern world, all this stands as a unique situation born of a unique history. Today the Nationalists may wallow in the nostalgia of Boer tradition, couched as it is in bitter enmity for the Negro and the British, for the Boers suffered greatly from both the once proud Bantu and the more crafty British Imperialists. It was the British who first seized from the Boers the Cape for use as a trade route and later, after winning the Boer War, seized the Transvaal and Orange Free State for control over the gold, diamonds and other rich mineral resources. Their anti-British attitudes are still obvious in recent legislation. *God Save the Queen* is no longer the official South African National Anthem, and many Nationalist leaders are ambitious for a republic.

The Afrikaners themselves are changing. Calvinist to the core, from their lofty tower of Dutch peasant morality, they always viewed money-making as sinful, especially the hungry and avaricious scramble after South African gold

and diamonds. But today their agriculture is integrated into a world marketing system and the farmers themselves submit annual returns in which they necessarily calculate their financial return over and above their investment. Moreover, they have sunk money into canning plants and are participating to an ever greater degree in the South African economy outside agriculture.

As their interests become more outrightly bourgeois, their morality and theology will inevitably adjust itself. At that time, the Nationalists will either have to go or will be forced to change fundamentally their political form. Recently reported splits among the leader-

ship of the Nationalist Party indicate wide divergencies in ideology and the possible beginning of a change in outlook. In the long term, one can only think that the class line-up in South Africa will resolve itself into an uncomplicated division between capitalists and workers. When that time arrives, the hate and fanatic prejudices of the Nationalists which rub against the humanist sensitivities of reasonable minded people like salt in an open wound, will be swept aside by braver cries of one world, one people, one mutual interest.

P. LAWRENCE.

The Boycott

In April of last year, the African National Congress of South Africa launched a new campaign, calling for an economic boycott of all South African Nationalist (Government-supporting) firms. The aim of the movement is to hurt the South African Government economically, by hitting the farmers who in the main are Nationalist supporters, and thereby embarrassing the Government into altering their policy of Apartheid. With trade unions frowned upon and strikes by Africans, a criminal offence, non-white South Africans face real problems in putting pressure on Government, and the boycott was decided upon because it was a peaceful way of protesting against the Government's policies.

From this relatively small beginning, the movement has spread to other countries. In Britain, the campaign to boycott South African goods has been taken up by the Liberal and Labour Parties, the T.U.C. and the Political Committee of the London Co-operative Society. Co-operative shops, however, have been advised by the Co-operative Union not to support the ban. The President of one Co-op. Society seemed to hit the nail on the head when he said that "... if the Society did boycott South African goods, their customers would only go to other shops for them." (*The Guardian*, 27/1/60.)

Sir de Villiers Graaff, leader of the United (opposition) Party, in answer to the proposed boycott has called it "inadvisable, ineffective, and (it) would have dangerous consequences." (*Times*, 4/1/60.) He went on to enumerate the reasons, starting by saying that such

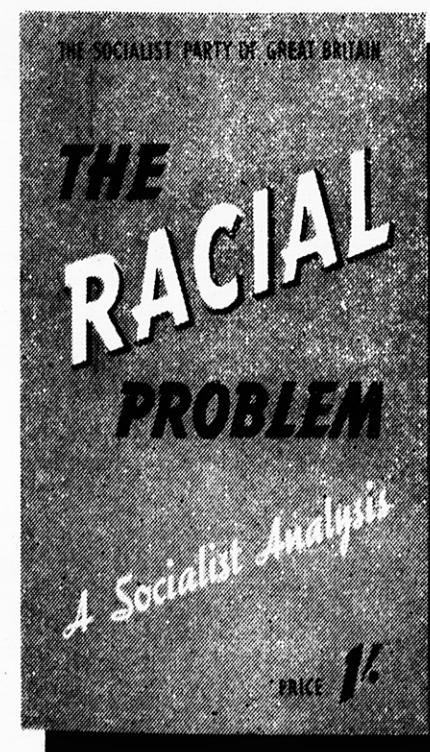
action would be regarded as interference with the internal policies of South Africa, leading to great resentment on the part of members of the South African public as a whole. "The question would then be asked," he continued, "why South Africa should be selected for such treatment when the social systems and policies of many other countries must be equally, if not more, repugnant to British ideas."

The British Press shows considerable sympathy towards the United Party, which they consider to be fairly liberal in its outlook, but the remarks of its leader are no different to those made in an interview by the late Mr. Strijdom, former Prime Minister in the Nationalist Government, on the general subject of Apartheid, in Ed Murrow's documentary film *African Conflict*. They were typical remarks of a representative of capitalism or growing capitalism.

Although the boycott movement has gathered a large number of supporters, the movement's leaders are not under any illusions about the results it might bring. Three of the boycott's chief supporters in South Africa have admitted that it might hit at South African non-whites first but, they say, the alternative is "... a bleak prospect of unending discrimination." (*Guardian* 8/1/60.) Neither do they think that the Government will change its policies overnight.

It is estimated that some £100m. worth of South African goods are exported to Britain every year. Of this, about £35m. is accounted for by metal imports and diamonds, which are not easily boycotted by individual workers. The remainder, £65m. consists of fresh and tinned fruit

Read



(totalling £40m.) and wine, tobacco, sugar, wool and leather making up the balance. (*Tribune* 29/11/59.) Various estimates have been given of the value of goods which will be lost by the boycott—between £2m. and £6m.

Although the boycott shows the extent of indignation against the South African Government's policies of brutal suppression of the Africans, it cannot hope to have more than a passing effect on South

Africa. For the most part, white workers in South Africa are in a different position to African workers, as they enjoy a much higher standard of living, are apathetic to the lot of the Negro. They have never had it so good, generally speaking, and they are prepared to allow their consciences to rest while their black fellow-workers had never had it so bad.

The Africans form a vast, and mainly untapped, source of labour for the grow-

ing capitalism of South Africa. They are one of the most immature proletariats in the world, and their political disadvantages are immense, but they must eventually go through the stages of maturing into class-conscious workers. When they have reached this stage, it won't be necessary to boycott South African goods in order for them to live dignified, wholesome lives.

P. HART.

Central Africa

Democratic Capitalism or Colonialism

A GREAT obstacle to capitalism in Africa is Dr. Verwoerd and his Nationalist Party of South Africa. Others are Sir Roy Welensky and the white Rhodesian settlers.

The conflict in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland mirrors that in South Africa. In both the white landowners have the power in their hands: they regard the Africans as a subordinate race, to be denied land-ownership except in the most barren areas, to be kept voteless and illiterate, and to be barred as far as possible from the towns—all these so that they may continue to provide a reservoir of cheap farm-labour for the landowners. But the capitalists in the Federation (as in the Union) have very different views. They want an educated mass proletariat, living in the towns, to work their factories: and only the natives can provide it. The Ford Motor Company, which is to build a £2 million motor assembly plant in Salisbury, and the British Motor Corporation, whose £1 million factory at Umtali starts production in September cannot risk wasting their capital because their workers cannot understand modern machinery. And the mineowners of the Northern Rhodesian copper belt cannot put in new machinery to increase their profits if the mineworkers are unable to read the books of instructions. Here is the root of the struggle in the Federation, between the landowners on the one side and the factory—and mine-owners on the other.

Just as South Africa lays claim to Bechuanaland, Swaziland and Basutoland, so the Southern Rhodesian settlers wanted to extend their reservoir of farm-labourers. This they did by federating with Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, against the wishes of the vast majority of the inhabitants of those countries, where there are very few white settlers. Of course, the settlers do not support Federation unconditionally: they only want it if they are to be the governing aristocracy. So this leads to the contradiction—against the claims of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland to secede, they say secession is impossible; and against the plans of the capitalist class to set up a capitalist democracy within the Federation, they threaten they will secede themselves. Within two days recently, Sir Roy Welensky, one settlers' leader, said, "there could be no question of the (Monckton) commission recommending that any part of the Federation be allowed to secede" (*The Guardian*, 28/1/60); and Sir Edgar Whitehead, another settlers' leader, said that "if the Governments of both Northern territories were operated on a nationalist basis by African nationalists," then Southern Rhodesia itself would withdraw from the Federation (*The Times*, 30/1/60).

This is not to say that the capitalists do not want Federation: they do, for it has great economic advantages. But they are very dubious about a Federation run

by Welensky and his settlers, who are indifferent or hostile to the development of capitalism. If they wish to establish a capitalist government, they will have to do it with the help of the votes of their black workers; for although in Southern Rhodesia "75 per cent. of the whites now live in towns, these towns have really grown out of the countryside and the new cities are only just acquiring a spirit of their own. It has been the white Southern Rhodesian farmer who has dictated the character of his country—and of the country's politics"; the "white Rhodesians who live in the towns... still take their attitude from the farmer" (*The Listener*, 17/9/59). So the establishment of a democracy is essential if the capitalists are to take political power, to match their growing economic power. Hence what *The Guardian* (16/12/59) calls the "liberalism" of the large Rhodesian companies. The article goes on to say:

It is almost impossible to exaggerate the importance to Central Africa of the Big Four companies—Rhodesian Selection Trust, Rhodesian Anglo-American, Imperial Tobacco Company, and the British South Africa Company. They control the copper, coal, lead and zinc mining and tobacco processing industries; they own forests, ranches, citrus estates, merchant banks, and newspapers; they have made generous gifts to the new university college; they have provided large loans for the renovation of the railways, the building of Kariba hydro-electric dam, for large-scale agricultural research, and rural development.

Political development

"Of these four companies," says the article, "Imperial Tobacco and the British South Africa Company are the less influential, and follow the lead of

the other two." Of these other two, Rhodesian Anglo-American has as its chairman Harry Oppenheimer, who is one of the industrialists behind the new Progressive Party in South Africa; and the Rhodesian Selection Trust's chairman is Sir Ronald Prain, who has just issued his annual statement, including his comments on the Federation:

I do not believe that the solution of Nyasaland's problems will depend entirely on economic aid. . . It is essential in the current environment of Africa that political development in all three territories should not lag too much behind economic development.

In other words—we capitalists have the economic power, so now we want the political power as well. This the capitalists can best get by giving the vote to the African workers, who (they trust) will vote for capitalism, just as workers do in democracies elsewhere. Sir Ronald significantly continues:

The Legislature is entirely European, a situation which appears inconsistent with Southern Rhodesia's position as the leading territory of what is a multi-racial Federation. Some of the laws, too, such as the Land Apportionment Act, would appear to require urgent and drastic alteration.

This last sentence is a direct attack on the settlers. The Land Apportionment Act, which gives half the farmland to the Europeans, was called "the cornerstone of our society" by Dominion Party settler-M.P.s earlier last year. A blow aimed at this settlers' Magna Carta gives an unmistakable warning that the capitalists are not going to tolerate a settlers' government for very much longer. This, indeed, has been increasingly obvious recently. In July the Rhodesian Selection Trust and Rhodesian Anglo-American "jointly announced that they would discontinue their annual contributions to Sir Roy Welensky's Federal party funds"; last year, together with the British South Africa company, they contributed £5,000. And in November the Rhodesian Selection Trust decided to stop subsidising *The Central African Examiner*, a political fortnightly which started in 1957 "with the aim of giving 'thoughtful support to liberal causes' but which turned to comparing Sir Edgar Whitehead (another settlers' leader) with Abraham Lincoln at a time when Sir Edgar was promoting a harsh Preventive Detention Bill."

Sir Ronald Prain went on to say:

The Europeans deceive themselves if they close their eyes to what is happening in the rest of Africa . . . (While) some

African leaders are still held in custody, no country can feel it can be said to have yet solved the problems of a multi-racial community.

Democratic Capitalism

As could be expected, the Rhodesian capitalists have plenty of friends in capitalist Britain. Like the great Rhodesian companies, the Labour Party (that old capitalists' friend) wants the "political development" of the Federation, advocates the release of the African leaders, and attacks the settlers' government. The Conservative-Bow Group wants Dr. Banda (the African Nationalist leader) released, and the vote given to many more Africans (*The Times*, 4/1/60). An "Africa 1960" Committee has been formed, including two Conservative M.P.s, to support "a rapid and orderly advance towards self-government" in African territories (*The Guardian*, 12/1/60). The Conservative Mr. Justice Devlin and his Commission rejected the settlers' arguments on the necessity of jailing the Africans' leaders in their report of July last year. The Nuffield Foundation has come down on the side of the big companies racial theories, and against the racial discrimination of the settlers, by offering £250,000 to the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland towards setting up a medical school at Salisbury providing there is no colour bar (*The Observer*, 31/1/60). Mr. Macleod (the Colonial Secretary) and Mr. Macmillan have both made it clear that the peoples of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland would not be handed over finally to the Southern Rhodesian settlers until they themselves decided that they wanted to remain within the Federation (*The Guardian*, 8/1/60).

These examples could be multiplied indefinitely. But enough has been said to show that the great industrialists of the Rhodesias can look forward with confidence to the establishment of a capitalist democracy in Central Africa, in line with parallel developments in nearly every other African country. Then the way will be open for the workers, both of this country and of Central Africa, to devote themselves to the only struggle which concerns them, the struggle for Socialism.

E.

The third article in the series *Transport and the Rise of Industry*, on the development of railways, has been unavoidably squeezed out of this issue, which is mainly devoted to Africa. It will appear next month.



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50 Years Ago

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

We know today that the French Revolution was a bourgeois revolution, that from the assembling of the States General to the days of the Directory there was a succession of bourgeois assemblies, and that above all fear drove the Royalist party to cede first one point and then another, and further, that the bourgeoisie, once in unstable control of the State, was compelled, in order to keep the allegiance of its own lower ranks and the help of the incipient proletariat, to grant measures of relief, of political and legal reform, and, of course, a plentiful crop of promises. . . The French Revolution was, then, a bourgeois revolution, made by a wealthy class, a class which, having gradually attained a position of economic advantage, determined on the grasping of political power as the proper safeguard of its interests. There can be little doubt that the English Revolution of 1640 and the great French Revolution were enacted by such.

From the SOCIALIST STANDARD,
March 1910.

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The
WESTERN
SOCIALIST

Algeria

Colonialists to the barricades

By one of those transformations common in our society, a group who were the heroes of yesterday have become the traitors of today. The French settlers in Algeria and their sympathisers in the French Army, who played a leading role in De Gaulle's return to power in May, 1958, have become today's dupes of "liars and conspirators"; working against the "Glory and Honour of France." Revolutionary or rebellious groups who push their efforts too far are always likely to find themselves at the wrong end of a "whiff of grapeshot." Messrs. Biaggi, Ortiz, and Lagailarde and General Massu must now be bitterly regretting their assumption that they could challenge De Gaulle. A study of the careers of the Napoleons would have enlightened them on the methods and ethics of the struggle for power. Monsieur Lagailarde, a French Parliamentary deputy for Algiers, will probably have ample opportunity for studying the situation at leisure, for he is likely to be imprisoned for his part in the rising.

Positions have been curiously reversed in the past few weeks; many Moslems are supporting De Gaulle, and the French settlers are now against him. French rebels have shown less political astuteness than the Algerian Nationalists; the F.L.N., the Algerian Nationalist Army, have been careful not to take any action during the conflict between Algiers and Paris, although it would have been excellent militant strategy. The French colonists' hopes of dominating Algerian policy have taken a heavy blow, and it seems they must now take a back seat in French political and economic life.

The Algerian war has for over five years been a serious drain on France's resources. Algeria is a vast, mainly arid country with desert, mountain ranges and few areas of cultivation except in the coastal fringes. Many of its people are adept at living and even fighting on what most Europeans consider a starvation diet. Through the refusal of France to give the Algerians some measure of freedom and independence politically and economically, many among the population have become rootless, having neither soil to till nor trade to work at. They have little prospects other than to work for the colonists at low wages. They have little to lose in joining the F.L.N.,

and they have the opportunity of hitting back at their oppressors. With the Europeans forming only a tenth part of the population, military operations are terribly difficult and costly—for France. For hit-and-run raids, for sniping, for sabotage, for acts of terrorism, the nature of the country is ideal. Guerrilla warfare, with a stream of recruits to be drawn from landless, embittered Algerians, is a venture promising great future profit for a Nationalist movement. The F.L.N. has adopted a cold-blooded policy of harassing the Colonists and the Army in every possible way. It is a ruthless war, with no Geneva conventions or consideration for prisoners of war on either side. This appears a hideous situation to us, but it is still a war on the classic Capitalist model with two opposing groups getting workers and peasants to fight for them. The F.L.N. has fought with the methods open to them, and the methods include the slaughter of French civilians (including women and children), and of any Moslems willing to co-operate with the French. The F.L.N. is a "political" army—the voluntary, enthusiastic fighting expression of Algerian Nationalism. Their activities can be modified to suit the political needs of the moment, as during the colonists' rebellion. The F.L.N. has repaid brutality with brutality, but the process has become too expensive for France. Every strong-point must be guarded, every road watched, every village picketed. And the F.L.N. are probing, probing everywhere, looking for the flaw in discipline, the weak spot, the broken-down truck, the flicker of a match that betrays the careless soldier.

The Colonists have shown attitudes and methods on the face of it repugnant to other nations. The frigid moral disapproval of other bourgeois groups can be taken with a pinch of salt, for any bourgeois group will display a disregard of its own political and ethical "principles" when its back is to the wall. Such mental and moral regression can be found among Kenya settlers, white South Africans, and among followers of the Nazi movement in Germany.

The regression is complete, entering into the very nature of their thinking. This failure of whole groups (or "herds" to use Trotter's more scathing word) to assimilate changed situations and ideas

takes on the character almost of mental disorder, as compared with the "norms" prevailing in more secure sectors of Capitalist enterprise. As in white South Africa, the Colonists continue to use senseless, brutal methods in spite of the triumphs of African nationalism all around them. Underneath the moral and ethical armour of all Capitalist groups there lurks the terrible brutality of "Mine, mine, mine!" a brutality that turns normally sane, reasonable people into torturers and murderers; a brutality that when it comes into the open makes a mockery of "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity"; and at the first threat of insecurity turns Liberty into Dictatorship, Equality into the Police State, and Fraternity into the terrible comradeship of the Army uniform.

Oil

There are several reasons for France to retain a hold in Algeria; and uppermost till now have been the interests of the Colonists. They dominate the fertile coastal strip, they hold much of the trade, and are the rulers in administration and local Government. There are other French interests in Algeria that are becoming more important than the Colonists' dates, wine and raisins. These other interests have always been a powerful, but somewhat hidden factor in French Government policy; with the opening of the oil pipeline, however, these interests are now in the open, and overriding. Oil-production is estimated this year at 1,500,000 tons, and by 1965 it is hoped will be 50,000,000 tons annually. There are certain economic difficulties in marketing this oil, but the French Government and ruling class are hoping that there will be a sufficient increase in world demand to absorb Saharan production. The reserves have been estimated as being of Persian-Gulf standards. There are also enormous reserves of natural gas that could be of great use to French industry and also in developing industry in Algeria. But these outside oysters are likely to remain shut unless the war can be brought to an end.

De Gaulle's return to power can only be understood against the background of colonial and economic trouble. De

Gaulle was ostensibly returned because of rebellion in the Army and among the Colonists. "Committees of Public Safety," consisting frequently of right-wing organisations and individuals, sprang up everywhere in France and Algeria. But De Gaulle came to power not merely because of the Army's dissatisfaction with the corruption and ineptitude of successive French Governments, nor because of the scheming of reactionary politicians like Soustelle, but because French political parties were prepared to surrender an already tattered democracy in the interests of "National Unity." De Gaulle was the only political leader with sufficient prestige to command enough support to guarantee a period of stable Government. The issue was not "Algeria for the settlers," but "National unity in order to place France once again among the front rank of European nations."

The Colonists have become the dupes of the Soustelles, Biaggis, and Lagailardes. These incipient demagogues hoped to achieve a right-wing solution in Algeria; the suppression of Algerian Nationalism and the complete and forcible integration of Algiers with France. In the process they no doubt hoped to find themselves in power, not merely in Algeria, but in France. The recent rising has shown the true position; De Gaulle wants a settlement of the Algerian war—even at the expense of the Colonists. He would like to see Algeria firmly united to France, but he can also see the political realities. He appreciates that the F.L.N. is something of a brick-wall, a brickwall that is ruining France merely to chip. A successful, even if temporary, settlement would mean the end of ruinous war, the possibility of peaceful exploitation of Saharan oil—with French capital and technical assistance, and a secure testing-site for France's atomic bomb.

The first indications of actual rebellion among the Colonists to reach outside observers were first the interview given by General Massu to a German correspondent; and secondly the meeting of the Mayors of the Algiers department. General Massu, whose tactlessness can only be interpreted as an attempt to sound the trumpet for a second, and much more drastic, May, 1958, expressed his dissatisfaction with De Gaulle's policy in Algeria—and said it in similar terms to those used by the Mayors. These gentry demanded the execution of Algerian Nationalists, and clearly stated the view, put into practice a few days later, that Algeria must remain French

even if Paris decreed otherwise. M. Lagailarde said, "Only one policy succeeds in Algeria, that of rebellion. We are ready to defend ourselves in arms." (Quoted in *The Guardian*, 20/1/60.) General Massu was being in his reactionary way the starry-eyed dreamer. The conditions of May, 1958 no longer obtained. Even the Army, with a professional interest in the War, have shown themselves willing to obey De Gaulle. The Mayors were of course clinging tightly to their vineyards. Their premature rebellion has severely damaged their political prestige. Next time—if there is one—there will be much less confidence and enthusiasm. The cry of defiance may in the near future be replaced by the whine of the special pleader: open defiance for the more subtle and probably futile intrigue of the lobbyist. Still, the Colonists remain an important, but declining, factor not so much for themselves as for the use that may be made of them by demagogues like Soustelle.

De Gaulle's Intentions

Many interpretations have been made about De Gaulle's intentions, and his own statements contain contradictions, so that it is difficult to foresee precisely the course of events in Algeria. De Gaulle is trying to gain sufficient support among the Algerian leaders to make a settlement possible. He could offer, in return for co-operation, withdrawal of the Army to certain base areas and an increase of Algerian participation in economic and political life. He is seeking to achieve a settlement that will leave France with a limited, but important, hold in Algeria. A settlement would "pay" much better than the continuance of the war, which involves the possibility that the F.L.N. will be able to hold a position long enough to blow up the buried pipe-line. For the present, the war will drag on, with De Gaulle hoping that the deadlock with the F.L.N. can be broken. His policy can be summed up as "Profit for both sides." He has already achieved some "success": the latest casualties among Moslems were reported to be among those demonstrating in favour of De Gaulle. The F.L.N. are hoping for a De Gaulle victory over the Colonists, and their lack of activity during the Colonists' rising points to a willingness to accommodate De Gaulle. The rank-and-file do not have very much to gain from either French Colonists or Algerian Nationalism. If an agreement was reached, however, and economic development went forward, they could hope for some improvement of their

living standards. At least there might be the possibility of trade union action, which scarcely exists at the moment. The fate of any Algerians pushing their revolt too far would be the traditional "whiff," this time administered by a legal Algerian Army backed up with French guns. The old cry of "Communist" will be heard and another section of the world's workers will discover the error of taking their leaders too seriously. The Algerians will find that they have but exchanged one set of oppressors for another.

F. R. IVIMEY.

African Passing Show

continued from page 48

ducing and distributing the world's goods, and does not believe that Russia or China any more than the United States or Britain have achieved this.

Free publicity for the Socialist Party can hardly have been one of the results the South African Nationalists aimed at when they clamped their censorship down on our pamphlets.

Intermingling

You may not be interested in boxing, but it could hardly have escaped your attention last summer that a certain Ingemar Johansson had taken the world's heavyweight title from the previous holder, Floyd Patterson. The South African government believes, however, that such knowledge as this would be seditious for all except the white population of South Africa. As it was reported in the *Johannesburg Star* (14/7/59):

Non-whites are not allowed to see any film containing "scenes of intermingling of Europeans and non-Europeans." That is why non-whites have been banned from seeing the film now circulating of the recent Johansson-Patterson world heavy-weight title fight. Johansson is white, but Patterson is a negro. So the film cannot be screened at all in non-white cinemas. And in those where non-whites may sit in the gallery and whites in the stalls, the non-whites have to wait outside until this newsreel ends before taking their seats.

If the South African government really thinks that this will keep the coloured population ignorant of the fact that a black man and a white man fought for the title, they must be well out of touch with reality.

ALWYN EDGAR.

Economic Notes

Keynesians and the Bank Rate

THE economists and financial experts are nearly all Keynesians now, and have been for many years. It is part of the Keynesian technique that when production is running at the full capacity of machines, resources and men, and unemployment is at a minimum, workers must be persuaded not to press for wage increases, and the expansion of production must be damped down. The increase of the bank rate to 5 per cent. was one step in the process, mainly designed to discourage some of the plans to expand manufacturing capacity, by making borrowing more costly. The other step was the warning given by the Chancellor of the Exchequer against wage claims and increases of profits.

The followers of Keynes are quite convinced that their schemes for managing capitalism smoothly are theoretically sound and practicable. But one of their difficulties is that they can rarely agree on what to do in any particular situation and when to do it. So on this occasion Sir Oscar Hobson reproves *The Times* and others for criticising the Chancellor's action. He wrote:

The Bank rate rise has met with some criticism. *The Times* labels it "much caution," suggests that an increase of half per cent. would have been enough and that the "authorities" having in previous years moved "too little and too late" are now falling into the contrary mistake of acting precipitately. My own assessment would be the opposite to this, namely, that if they are erring at all it is in the same direction as before. Instead of delivering an advance warning at the Mansion House in the autumn and then waiting until the third week in January before raising the Bank rate (as they did in 1954-5 and now again in 1959-60) they would have done better to raise the rate without warning (*Stock Exchange Gazette*, 29/1/60.)

Other critics of the Chancellor are saying that he has misread the situation and ought not to have raised the Bank rate at all.

Railway Wages

Sir Oscar Hobson says that while the Bank rate may be "no instrument for dealing with 'cost-push-inflation' springing from excessive wage demands," the 7 per cent. Bank rate of September, 1957

"was effective in greatly moderating the 1958 round of wage demands." *The Economist* (30/1/60) in an article "Here we are Again?" wants the Government to resist further wage claims, starting with the Railwaymen. It accuses Mr. Bevan of having helped to promote a crisis in 1951, when as Minister of Labour, he "surrendered" to the Railwaymen, and the Conservative Government of having done the same in 1955, and demands firmness now about railway wages. It quotes as a good example "the way in which Londoners withstood the bus strike" in 1957 and thus discouraged other claims for wage increases. It returned to the subject a week later, saying: "If Sir Brian Robertson had given an immediate wage increase to the N.U.R. on Friday last week, it is highly probable that the country would have been sent gently careering again up the well-trodden spiral of inflation." So the Railwaymen, many thousands getting less than £8 a week, are to be held responsible for the past and future rises in prices.

The Labour Party, being in opposition, condemns this attitude, but they are Keynesians too. It was their Government in 1945-1951 that made "wage restraint" a first-line policy and they have declared that if returned to office they would again seek trade union agreement on this issue.

They might reflect on the admission of a writer in the *Economist* (24/10/59) that "right at the base of Keynesian theory is the psychological datum that workers will acquiesce in a very considerable decline in real wages, by way of a higher price level, without reacting as they do to any prospect of a cut in money wages."

The excuse of the Government always is the baseless one that wage claims are the cause of inflation. Quite apart

from this, however, the twenty year rise of prices would still show the failure of the Keynesian doctrines that were embodied in the 1944 declaration of the three parties in the National Government, in which they affirmed their intention to maintain a stable price level.

Knocking at Keynes

In 1957 when Mr. Thorneycroft resigned from the Government, Mr. Enoch Powell, Financial Secretary to the Treasury, resigned with him. The general belief was that they wanted a tougher financial policy from the Government and resistance to wage increases. Mr. Powell, writing in the *Financial Times* (7/1/60), now attacks the claims of the present Chancellor of the Exchequer that Government policy in the 1959 budget brought about the expansion of trade and production.

He shows that the Government's particular monetary policies had no effect whatever. He points out that the expansion was already going on and that a similar expansion was going on in the world generally, irrespective of the fact that other governments were following quite different policies. He was saying, in effect, that it was the normal trade cycle operating as it has throughout the history of capitalism.

He concludes:—

Once again we have been denied the privilege of observing at first hand a British Government coping with a recession on orthodox Keynesian lines. We still do not know experimentally what would be the result if, in the face of a persistent fall in propensity to spend, a British Government equally persistently increased its expenditure, and financed it by the creation of money through the floating debt. At any rate that was not the history of the 1958-60 recovery. The upturn got there before the Government.

NOTICES

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A Patriotic Swindler

HORATIO BOTTOMLEY

the patient was up and playing golf before he could swallow the medicine; and we must await some other opportunity to ascertain by experience whether the prescription is beneficial, poisonous—or simply neutral.

The only thing Mr. Powell overlooks is that, if the recovery took place without the aid of the Government's medicine, it also took place without the alternative medicine that he presumably considered necessary.

Rise in Profits

In the meantime investors are doing very well. The *Financial Times* (4/2/60) discloses that 109 industrial companies which published their reports in January showed an average increase of 6.7 per cent. in profits as compared with a year earlier, that earnings available for ordinary shares were up by 13.6 per cent. and the dividends actually distributed to ordinary shareholders were higher by 30 per cent.

Too Much Hardship?

Two quotations from *The Observer* (7/2/60), the first being its proposal for limiting the expansion of production:

... there is a case for trying to moderate the housing boom: it is now going ahead very fast, and some building could be postponed without causing too much hardship. (Page 2.)

Last year five million people were waiting for new council housing, two million of them classed as "urgent needers": in 1956 the L.C.C. had only 300 three-room flats to offer to nearly 72,000 families who required them. (Page 16.)

H.

COMPANION PARTIES

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29 Doris Street, North Sydney, P.O. Box 2291 Sydney

Socialist Party of Canada

P.O. Box 115 Winnipeg, Manitoba

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MARCH 23rd, 1960, marks the centenary of the birth of Horatio Bottomley, one of Britain's most colourful and well-loved figures of the period 1890-1920. Yet this popular figure, who became almost synonymous with John Bull, was one of the greatest rogues alive, getting through in a day at the races more than many of his constituents in South Hackney earned in several years. And the money was always somebody else's; he was not even a Capitalist, he was a common swindler puffed up by his great flair for sensational journalism and by posing as John Bull, the Sporting Britisher's man.

The early part of Bottomley's career, the years 1890-1914, could well be called the Golden Age of British Capitalism. It was an age of great upper-class luxury; it was a flamboyant, opulent age. It was also an age of great optimism. Imperialism was at its height, the Sun never set on the Empire, all problems could be solved by the normal workings of Capitalism, Society was an unshakable rock. Men basked in the false sunshine of Prosperity—even those who were poor. Workers shared in the general optimism; if there was great poverty, there was also the great illusory promise of things to come. There were clouds drifting across the sun, the largest being the tremendous growth of Germany as an industrial, military and naval power, but these clouds scarcely disturbed the illusion of opulent serenity of Sporting Edward's reign.

Bottomley had many of the upper-class attributes of the time. He loved racing, champagne, pretty girls, money and power. And he displayed his likes in the arrogant, showy way so typical of the age. His long period of success can only be understood by seeing the man in his context. He was an important figure in finance, a great journalist, a clever lay lawyer, a tremendously effective orator, a man to whom the electors of South Hackney delighted to give their votes, and he was a leader of "Public Opinion." He was a patron of the poor, the friend of the rich and influential, a champion of the moral virtues and defender of the family, an incessant campaigner (through the pages of *John Bull*) against prudes, indecency, brutality and corruption. He

was a "sport"; and he was the biggest liar and hypocrite in England. He was a man incapable of real generosity; a man who, to quote an old inhabitant of Hackney, "would give a 5s. tip and pinch the bread-and-cheese out of your pocket." He appears a cardboard figure today, his actions all deliberate poses for the benefit of an admiring public. Yet he inspired real devotion in his assistants; perhaps in that age nothing succeeded so well as success, particularly success at large-scale swindle.

Bottomley lived during the great days of company flotation. The law was comparatively lax, and Bottomley infinitely audacious. He early acquired a taste for bankruptcy; a taste that harmed nothing except his political ambitions, for he lived as richly as when he was solvent. He floated many companies, and their funds stuck to his eternally sticky fingers in enormous quantity. He was prosecuted quite early in his career, and conducted his own defence in an able and witty manner. So well-liked was he that many of his victims still had faith in him and his enterprises, and even shared the jokes he made in Court at their expense. The Company schemes were difficult to unravel, the organisation chaotic, the book-keeping almost non-existent. His assistants could be relied on to be helpful in the most obstructive possible way when the Official Receiver and his agents were endeavouring to inspect the books. He was a ferret squeezing through every loophole in the Company laws.

Perhaps his greatest achievement was his building-up of *John Bull* into a best-seller among journals. This was one Bottomley venture which was quite safe from the law, for business and financial management was firmly in the hands of Odham's. Bottomley drew a large salary as managing Editor, a salary which was considerably augmented by the firms who paid not to appear in its pages, and by the lotteries, competitions and share-subscription schemes advertised in the journal! These schemes placed enormous sums in Bottomley's pocket. Through *John Bull* he not only raised money, he became an expert manipulator of Public opinion. His appeals to patriotism, his nauseating

anti-Germanism during the first world war, his attempts to found a new political party, all pointed to the incipient demagogue. As he grew older, his love of power grew and his astuteness declined. After the war he hastily secured his discharge from bankruptcy (characteristically, with money not all of which was his own) in order that he could take part in the 1919 election. He finally came to grief over his share-subscription schemes, being prosecuted under the Larceny Act of 1915, an Act which was passed to prevent the depredations of Bottomley and others of his kind.

Bottomley was a liar, a thief, and a hypocrite, yet for thirty years he remained an important, imposing figure in English life. His popularity with the many members of the upper class is easily explained. His depredations scarcely affected them, he was clever and a good conversationalist, he shared their tastes, and he was, as a "man of the people," a useful figure, particularly during the war. Their sympathy had lessened by the end of his career. His

The Cinema

"We are the Lambeth Boys"

We are the Lambeth Boys, sponsored by the Ford Motor Company and shown in a Free Cinema programme at the National Film Institute recently is a documentary film with an impact. It was directed by Karel Reisz, already quite well-known for his earlier documentary about a London Jazz Club *Momma Don't Allow*. It has received special consideration from the specialist cinema magazine, and even found space in the popular *Picturegoer*. *We are the Lambeth Boys* concerns itself with youth. It deals with teenagers at a Walworth Youth Club, their activity at the club during the course of a few evenings and includes a club outing to a public school.

It has a largely explanatory commentary and makes no effort to discuss the attitudes and actions of young people coupled with the delinquency arguments. For the most part the camera seems unnoticed by the boys. Nothing seems rehearsed. The boys play at the cricket nets, the girls gather in groups and talk; later they are seen jiving in the hall of the club. It shows some of them at work; a Post-Office boy clipping an endless pile of circulars, a girl putting cream on an endless supply of cakes in a factory, another girl sewing, a boy at a typical secondary modern school in the

growing interest in politics was becoming an embarrassment: as a demagogue he might threaten their own privileged positions.

To many workers he was a "sport"; they lived vicariously through his extravagances, and he posed as their champion. A reading public—unsophisticated, untrained in politics, crushed by poverty and eager for sensationalism—was provided for him and his kind by the Education Acts of the late 19th century.

After his imprisonment, he found he was unable to make a success of a new journal on the lines of the old *John Bull*. His popularity had vanished his journalism had become out of date, his utterances old-hat and naive-sounding. He died in poverty, denied even the comfort of an old-age pension.

His greatest crime went unpunished, and was indeed applauded and highly-paid; he was one of Capitalism's greatest Recruiting Sergeants.

F. R. I.

morning assembly, with its purely perfunctory prayer and hymns. In the evening boys lounge at the street corners in the "caffs" and chip-shops. The girls giggle in groups, shouting across the road.

The picture of their lives is one of aimless routine. Despite their aggressiveness, the club is important to them because it enables them to be together at somewhere other than the pictures, dance halls or billiard-saloons.

With no bar on language, or any need to be on their best behaviour they talk and discuss various topics with a club warden in a quiet, natural way. In one discussion about corporal punishment they show themselves to be more savage and primitive, despite the jokes which cover their embarrassment at having to talk seriously, than any M.P. or any Tory women's conference. They talk about clothes, and in one of the films few interviews a teenager tells how he buys expensive suits to wear for only a few months. An indication of their frame of mind. Jobs are fairly easy to get, especially where they only have to clip circulars. The money is good, and they can spend plenty on records and all the other teenage items that sell in such numbers. In other discussions about

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what they do and what they think of London they show a cynical yet naive attitude—one moment tough and hard thinking, the next showing incredible sentimentality and crude bravado. Growing up into capitalist society, realising some of its violent pressures, teenagers get the full force of the difference between illusion and reality. Thus in a dream world created by frustrations they live a life governed by frustration.

We are the Lambeth Boys gives some indication of this. As the makers of the film did not proffer any social commentary themselves, perhaps they thought it would go down better without waving genuine social problems in the public's face. Though many people realise that adolescence is not a wholly joyful time, when young people look ahead expectantly, the truth of the matter should be even plainer. Teenage conditions may have improved since before the war but their world is still resentful, bitter, aimless or just plain empty. The post war changes and the introduction of the flat estates and hire purchase prosperity may cause a further change which could affect the next generations and cause the next delinquency problems.

ROBERT JARVIS



From the Branches

ANNUAL CONFERENCE

It is not too soon to remind Comrades that the Conference will be held at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London, on April 15th, 16th and 17th. A Social and Dance will be held on Saturday, April 16th fuller details in next month's STANDARD.

"GILMAC" AND "H"

"Gilmac" and "H"—these noms de plume are so well-known to readers of the SOCIALIST STANDARD—but one wonders how many readers appreciate that the owners of these names have been the mainstay of the production of the official organ of the Socialist Party of Great Britain for more years than we think even they can remember? It is more than thirty-five years ago that Comrades Gilmac and Hardy first became members of the Editorial Committee, and despite pressure of personal work and domestic worries, have toiled unceasingly to ensure that the only Socialist periodical in Great Britain was published regularly. Members of the Socialist Party of Great Britain rarely express thanks (although they are nonetheless appreciative) to Comrades who have worked so well and so unstintingly for Socialism. This comment is made now, as Comrades Gilmac and Hardy have decided not to stand for the Committee this year—obviously there is a time when even Socialists must have a respite. Although not formally on the Committee, they will certainly continue to write for the STANDARD, and members of the present Committee (who have learned much from Gilmac and Hardy over the years) know that they can have the counsel of Comrades Gilmac and Hardy at any time.

COVENTRY ACTIVITY

Comrades Boylan and Walsh are very active in Coventry and in their own words "have started our own little Socialist propaganda group on January 16th, when we attended W.E.A. one-day school on "Strikes," the lecturer being the regional secretary of the T. &

G.W.U." They suggest that after they had taken part in the discussion the lecturer must have felt Maddened, Baffled and Enraged. (He is, incidentally, an M.B.E.) Comrades Boylan and Walsh intend to visit these lectures regularly in an endeavour to get the Party's name and case well known in Coventry and before long, to form a Group there.

GLASGOW MAY DAY

After an unavoidable gap of several years the two Glasgow Branches (City

and Kelvingrove) have, at great cost, booked the Cosmo Cinema for their May Day Rally, 1960. They hope to have the assistance of a speaker from London, and the Branches together are going all out to make the occasion successful. A fund has been set up to defray the cost and an appeal is made to members and sympathisers in Scotland especially and elsewhere in general, to spare what they can. Please send donations to either of the Branch Secretaries addresses under Branch Directory.

P. H.

Correspondence

Democracy in Ghana

Dear Comrades,

Reflecting in this letter on a chance acquaintance with Ghana which is now "independent" as members of Britain's Labour Party would describe it.

The Scandinavian Express speeded towards France. Seated next to me in the compartment was a Swedish psychoanalyst who had decided to exchange "Socialism" for an Italian monastery. A tourist pamphlet was sticking out of his pocket and began: "When the plane lands you are standing on the threshold of a great adventure—Great Britain."

The boat shrugged lazily out of Marseilles harbour into the Mediterranean towards West Africa. For every one African on the boat there were two nuns all crossing themselves at the same time. My berth companion was a young French missionary (sent out to soften up the natives) who was later to read me pieces from the Old Testament and tell me that because I was an African my soul needed saving.

My seat at the dining table was next to an American woman tourist of 65 years, dressed and behaving like a girl of sixteen. Facing her sat a coloured Ghanaian woman married to a wealthy Swiss business man. She told us that because everyone in Switzerland were "equal," she had left her child there to be educated in one of the "best" schools. It was much nicer to have it grow up with ex-Kings and retired millionaires rather than just Africans.

A young Ghanaian girl journalist sat on my left who had been imprisoned with her "idol," Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, when capitalism was being run by the Labour Party. It was, however, interesting to see that she was beginning to understand that Africans were just as capable to administer capitalism as the white man. The poisonous black capitalist boiling pot of intrigue had disappointed one more. Yet she still insisted that the white Africans were interlopers and should be removed, which seemed like race prejudice in reverse.

The journalist had invited me to stay with her friend on reaching Takoradi. The next morning the boat arrived at Takoradi harbour. The police stood around looking like mixtures of male nurses and museum attendants.

After a confiscated passport and the refusal to accept the invitation of accommodation, together with a fantastic questioning, I was quickly deported to Nigeria, which was my destination. This ended my brief visit to the "model democracy."

Speaking on "democracy" in Ghana, Mr. Gaitskill, that great "socialist," said: "It is not possible for us in Britain to determine how you will develop your democracy. It is your affair, but I think in every new country emerging into nationhood certain principles must be observed. They are national unity, a high degree of personal leadership, and thirdly, and the most important, the preservation of individual liberty at all costs."

How easy these words slip off the tongue of a leader committed to try and reform capitalism. The detentions, deportations and imprisonments by Mr. Nkrumah's government are politely called developing "democracy," supported by the Communists and the shifty Liberal, not to mention the Conservatives, who might have made the same speech themselves. One wonders just how much "individual liberty" the British worker enjoys under his "democracy." What a garnish to hide the stench of British capitalism!

But there is still hope whilst Pacifist Fenner Brockway looks to God and black nationalism to "liberate" the African workers:

"God speed to the new leaders of Africa in the vast arena of constructive tasks which spreads before them!"

Yes, constructive tasks of maintaining the capitalist system in Africa.

Fraternalty yours,

OBADIME

Stockholm, Sweden.

AFRICA EDITION

The Passing Show

Don't do as I do

SIR ROY WELENSKY has made the point several times recently that African politicians in the Rhodesian Federation must not presume to aspire to the Premiership. For example, in a statement reported in *The Times* (18/1/60) Sir Roy said: "Ambitious African leaders wanted a break-up of the Federation because it would mean fulfilment of their personal ambitions to be Prime Ministers and Ministers of black States."

Socialists have their own opinions about "ambitious African leaders," or about ambitious leaders of any nationality. But if anyone can lecture others about their "personal ambitions to be Prime Ministers," surely Sir Roy Welensky can't. He used to be Premier of Southern Rhodesia, and is now Prime Minister of the Rhodesian Federation. Another case, it seems, of "Don't do as I do, do as I say."

Capital is safe

ANY capitalist who is still dubious about the new independent capitalist states now being set up throughout Africa can take heart from a letter written by Sir Robert Kirkwood which appeared in *The Times* of 27/1/60. Sir Robert, writing from Jamaica, points out that: "When I first came here, 20 years ago, the average white Jamaican openly and vociferously argued, and genuinely believed, that the 'black man' was quite incapable of running the country. And even conservative coloured and black Jamaicans averred that universal adult suffrage 'could never work here'."

But the British ruling class decided to set up the West Indies as an independent federation. The result has been a great development of capitalism. As the letter says: "More economic progress has

been achieved in the short time since Jamaicans elected under universal adult suffrage took over the Government than in the previous century."

Even capital owned by Europeans is quite safe: "Nor have I ever detected that our politicians felt the slightest inclination to penalize capital of any description going about its legitimate business."

The "legitimate business" of capital being, of course, to wring surplus value out of the workers. Sir Robert warns of the dangers of thwarting the "rightful ambitions" of the native ruling class:

I am certain that most of our present West Indian leaders, who have earned general commendation from Europeans resident in these parts, as well as in their missions abroad, would have been capable, only a few years ago, of leading revolutions, bloody revolutions, if their rightful ambitions to govern in their own homes had been indefinitely and unreasonably deferred.

The letter goes on to assure faint-hearts that the African nationalists, too, only wish to develop capitalism in their own countries:

Although I have not visited Africa myself, experienced and reliable Jamaican friends of mine who know the leaders in Kenya, Nyasaland, the Rhodesias, etc., tell me that most of these men, though dedicated and even fanatical nationalists, are, for the most part, far from holding radical views in economic matters. My friends consider that once elected to power these men would seek advice and assistance, and govern with a sense of responsibility and attention to what is best for the economic development of their respective homelands.

It is obvious that Sir Robert Kirkwood, at least, does not see any danger to capitalism when formerly colonial countries become independent.

Diamonds thicker than dogma

THE diamond producers of the Western world let the Central Selling Organisation of the De Beers group of companies handle virtually all their diamonds: thus this South African concern is able to maintain high prices and high profits for the shareholders of the diamond companies. *The Observer* (24/1/60) called it "one of the most efficient organisations for resale price maintenance that capitalism has yet produced." But recently the Russians discovered large new deposits of diamonds in north-east Siberia and in the northern Urals. It was feared that once the exploitation of these new mines got under way, the Russians would export their surpluses, and undercut De Beers organisation. This would mean a slump in prices and in profits. But now all is well. The Russians have agreed to let the Central Selling Organisation market all the diamonds they export to the Western world.

As *The Guardian* says (19/1/60): "The agreement to channel these sales entirely through the De Beers organisation shows that the Soviet authorities have no intention of underselling South Africa, but intend to fall in with the price maintenance arrangements of the African producers in order to get the best possible returns." So the Russian and the South African capitalists join hands to safeguard their surplus value.

Publicity

THE recent banning by South Africa of a number of the SPGB's pamphlets has led to a certain amount of publicity for the party there. An article appeared in the *Johannesburg Star* on November 3rd, 1959. There are the sneers which one might expect when a capitalist paper deals with a Socialist Party, but at least the article contained the following:

The SPGB believes in no war, no leaders, no bosses, no capitalism, and no Soviet Communism. It believes in the common ownership of the means of pro-

(continued page 43)

**AFRICA
MEETING**



Speakers: E. Grant, A. May

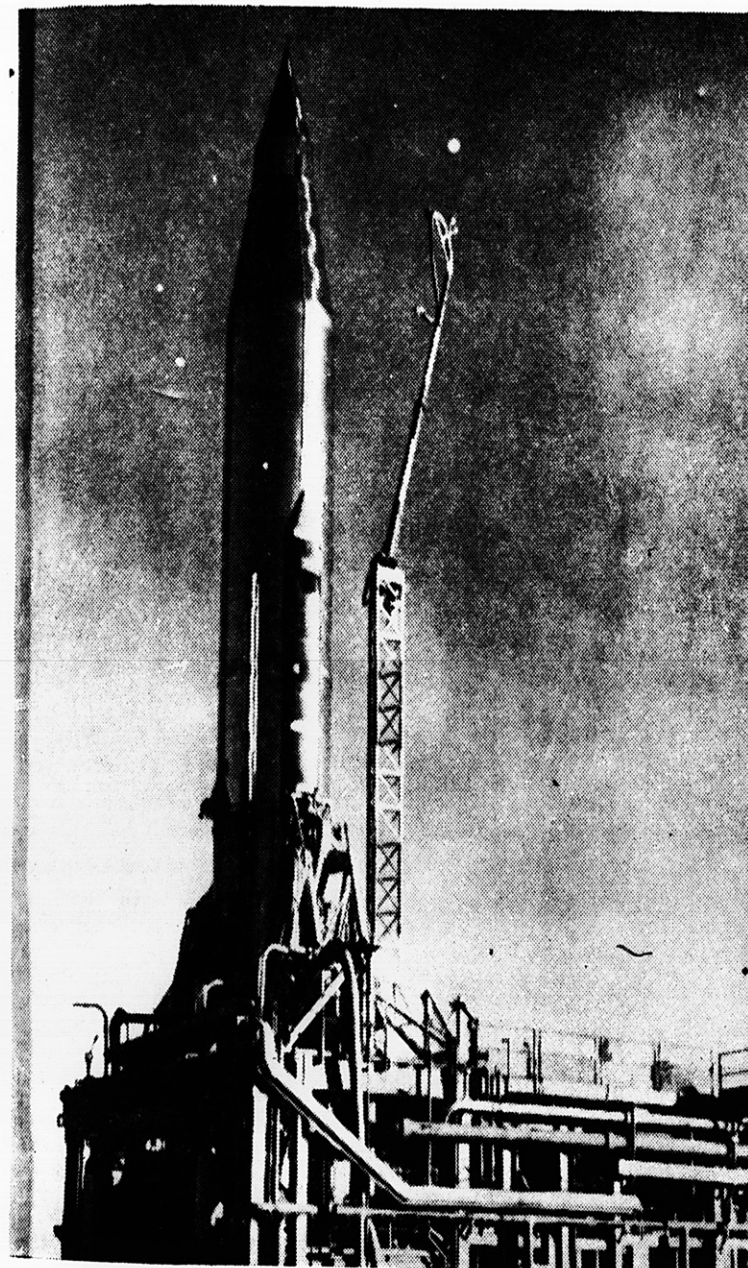
Sunday Mar. 20 7.30 pm
Denison House

296 Vauxhall Bridge Rd. Victoria, SW1

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APRIL 1960
No. 668 Vol. 56

SOCIALIST STANDARD



A ROCKET MISSILE "Is this the kind of world we want? Or ..."

A FUTURE WORTH LIVING FOR

Where Nuclear Disarmament Fails **ALDERMASTON MARCH**

A Voice from the Past **A MAN OR A TOOL**

Gold the Basis of Trade **RUSSIAN GOLD POLICY**

A Future Worth Living For **SOCIALISM**

6^p

JOURNAL OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

BRANCHES

Visitors are cordially invited to every meeting

- BASILDON.** Thursdays 7.30 p.m., Craylands County Secondary School, Basildon. Correspondence: R. H. Bowie, Cranford, Basil Drive, Laindon, Essex.
- BIRMINGHAM.** Thursdays 8 p.m., "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. *Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month.* Enquiries to H. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road, Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.
- BLOOMSBURY.** 1st and 3rd Thursdays (April 7 and 21) in month 7.30 p.m. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.
- BRADFORD & DISTRICT.** Correspondence: Peter Hall, 10 Spring Grove Terrace, Leeds 6. Tel.: Bradford 71904 any time.
- CAMBERWELL.** Mondays 8 p.m., 52 Clapham High St., S.W.4. Correspondence: H. Baldwin, 334 South Lambeth Road, Stockwell, S.W.8.
- DARTFORD.** Fridays 8 p.m., Dartford Labour Club, Lowfield St., Dartford *Discussions after business.* Correspondence: W. G. Catt, 32 Ickleton Road, Nottingham, S.E.9.
- EALING.** Fridays 8 p.m., Memorial Hall, Windsor Rd., Ealing (nr. Broadway) Correspondence: E. T. Critchfield, 48 Balfour Road, W.13.
- ECCLES.** 2nd Friday (April 8) in month, 7.30 p.m., 5 Gaskell Road, Eccles Correspondence: F. Lea at above address.
- FULHAM & CHELSEA.** 1st and 3rd Thursdays (Apr. 7 *discussion* and 21 *business*) in month 8 p.m. "Kings Head", 4 Fulham High Street, S.W.6. (nr. Putney Bridge). Correspondence: L. Cox, 22 Victoria House, Ebury Bridge Rd. SW1. Tel. SLO 5258.
- GLASGOW (City).** Alternate Wednesdays (April 13. and 27) 8 p.m. Religious Institute Rooms, 200 Buchanan Street, C.1. Correspondence: T. A. Mulheron, 366 Aikenhead Road, Glasgow, S.2.
- GLASGOW (Kelvingrove).** Alternate Mondays (April 11 and 25) 8 p.m., Partick Burgh Halls, Partick. Correspondence: R. Donnelly, 50 Doncaster Street, Glasgow, N.W.
- HACKNEY.** Wednesdays 7.30 p.m., Bethnal Green Town Hall, Room 3 (Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: M. Coster, 79, Walpole Road, E.17.
- ISLINGTON.** Thursdays 8 p.m., Co-op. Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N.7. *Lecture or discussion after business.* Correspondence: R. E. Carr, SPGB, c/o above address.
- KINGSTON-upon-THAMES.** Fridays 8 p.m., 19 Spencer Road, East Molesey. Correspondence: Secretary, at above address. Tel.: Mol 6492.
- LEWISHAM.** Mondays 8 p.m., Co-op. Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, S.E.6. Correspondence: P. Hart, 22 Gt. Elms Road, Bromley. Tel.: Rav 7811.
- NOTTINGHAM.** Wednesdays 7.30 p.m., Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street. Correspondence: Secretary, R. Powe, 8 Swains Avenue, Carlton Road.
- PADDINGTON.** Wednesdays 8.30 p.m., "The Olive Branch," Crawford Street, W.1 (corner Homer Street, nr. Marylebone Road). *Discussions after business.* Correspondence: C. May, 1 Hanover Road, N.W.10.
- SOUTHEND.** 1st Tuesday (April 5) 19, Kingswood Chase, Leigh-on-Sea: 3rd Tuesday (April 19), 17 Cotswold Road, Westcliff-on-Sea; in each month, 7.30 p.m. Correspondence: Dick Jacobs, at above latter address.
- WEST HAM.** Thursdays 8 p.m., Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E.12. *Discussions from 9 p.m.* Correspondence: D. Deutz, 80 Bowdsey Ave., Ilford, Essex.
- WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY.** Fridays 7.30 p.m., 146 Inderwick Road, Hornsey, N.8 (41 bus to Tottenham Lane, nr. "Hope & Anchor"). Correspondence: Secretary, at above address.
- WOOLWICH.** 2nd and 4th Fridays (April 8 and 22) in month, 7.30 p.m., Town Social Club, Mason's Hill, S.E.18. *Discussions at 8 p.m.* Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens, Eltham, S.E.9.

DISCUSSION AND STUDY GROUPS

- BRISTOL.** Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Backfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2. Tel.: 24680.
- CHELtenham.** Enquiries: Ken Smith, 338 Swindon Road.
- DORKING & DISTRICT.** Enquiries: O.C. Iles, "Ashleigh" Townfield Rd., Dorking.
- MANCHESTER.** Enquiries: J. M. Breaky, 2 Dennison Avenue, Manchester 20. Tel.: Did 5709.
- MITCHAM & DISTRICT.** Tuesday (April 19), 8 p.m., "White Hart," Mitcham Cricket Green. Enquiries: T. Lord, 288 Church Road, Mitcham.
- NEWPORT & DISTRICT.** Meetings at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport (Details advertised in *South Wales Argus*). Enquiries M. Harris, 25 Court Farm Estate, Cwmbran, nr. Newport, Mon.
- OLDHAM.** Wednesdays 7.30 p.m., 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees, at above address. Tel.: Mai 5165.
- REDHILL.** Enquiries: A. A. Kemp, 19 Ashcombe Rd., Merstham, Redhill, Surrey.
- SUSSEX.** Enquiries: W. Craske, "Hazelcroft," Green Road, Wivelsfield Green, Sussex.
- SWANSEA.** Enquiries: V. Brain, 17 Brynawellon, Pencelliogi, Llanelly, Glam.

MEETINGS

CONFERENCE RALLY

- Apr. 17th "A Future Worth Living For"
Easter Sunday 7.30 p.m., Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq., W.C.1.
Speakers: Cook (Birmingham); James (Nottingham)
(See page 63 for details).

MAY DAY RALLIES—LONDON

- May 1st Hyde Park, 3-6 p.m. Grant, Read, Young
Denison House, 296 Vauxhall Bridge Road, Victoria, 7.30 p.m.
"Workers of the World Unite" C. Wilson, J. D'Arcy
(See page 64 for details).

MAY DAY RALLY—GLASGOW

- May 1st Cosmo Cinema, Sauchiehall St. 7 p.m. C. May (London)

LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS

- Sundays Hyde Park 3.30 p.m.
East Street, Walworth
April 3 and 17 (11 a.m.); 10th (noon); 24th (1 p.m.)
May 1st (noon).
- Thursdays Tower Hill 12.30 p.m.

Help us!

Each month the "Socialist Standard" must come out. Which at present means that each month the party must take a loss of about £20. This cannot go on, as the Party's General Fund is now almost exhausted. There are two things we can do about it. We can do our utmost to sell as many "Standards" as possible. And we can send money to the party funds. The Central Literature Sales Committee are helping to bring about the first. And the party treasurer waiting to take care of the second. Please get in touch with the Literature Sales Committee with your offers of help in selling the "Standard" and let the treasurer have your donation as soon as possible. THIS is urgent.

SOCIALIST STANDARD

Journal of the SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

APRIL 1960 No. 668, VOL 56

A FUTURE WORTH LIVING FOR

WE live in a most paradoxical world. We live in an age of science, an age in which man has become more and more the master over nature. The spectres of disease, starvation, and death, beat a steady retreat before the onslaught of test tube and microscope. Fire, water and the atom are being steadily harnessed to the whims and will of man. The mysteries of the past have become the studies of the present. What man feared in his ignorance has been conquered by his understanding. And yet amidst this possible Eden of peace and plenty rears the ugly head of destruction and poverty.

Before us lies a world of highly developed national interests, stifled in a web of its own making. A society based upon production of commodities for profit continues as an economy which cannot adjust itself to the complications of the highly technical relationships of the 20th Century. Because of its inherent contradictions, Capitalism finds itself constantly faced with war. It is not democracy or dictatorship but expansion or extinction of capitalist interests that are at stake. In new markets from which profits may be reaped, in new territories to exploit, lies the cause for which men die.

The new advances in the means and methods of production, which provide capitalism with its claim to greatness, have become a Frankenstein. Technological progress has outgrown and is being strangled by the restraints and limitations of our private-property society. The small production units of early capitalism have given way to a complicated, highly socialised organisation. Despite this, control still remains in private hands, typified by individual, corporate, or state ownership. It is this glaring contradiction that results in wars, crises and misery.

Poverty amidst plenty has no justification. Man can produce food, clothing and shelter, more than enough for all, and yet many go hungry, homeless and unclad. Within his power lies a world of peace and plenty, yet Man

appears reluctant to make it possible in his political ignorance.

It is a current prejudice that man's inhumanity to man, his selfishness and greed, are the core of all social ills. The pious are devout in their claim that man's difficulties are due to his lack of faith and ungodliness. The "intellectuals" are equally insistent in maintaining that the working class are not only incapable but also unwilling to lead a better life. The "practical" men insist that a rigid and authoritative leadership is necessary to control the ignorance and stupidity of the mob.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain opposes all these contentions. If we want to understand the human behaviour of the present-day, we must seek for an explanation in the organisation of society. We live in a commodity system in which everything has a price, including man. Goods are not produced primarily to satisfy the needs of people, but to be sold on the market for profit. The means of production are concentrated in the hands of a few who live by virtue of their ownership. On the other hand, we have the overwhelming majority of the world whose only means of livelihood is the selling of their energies, physical and mental, to those who own the machinery of wealth production. The few live in splendour and luxury; the many dwell precariously.

It is not a change of heart that is needed, but the establishment of Socialism, a social system that will be in harmony with man's needs. There is but one way to speed the day: that is by banding together to destroy the barriers of national patriotism and race hatred; to organise into a movement that stands for the establishment of a world in which war will give way to peace, scarcity to abundance, and nationalism to world co-operation. Only such a movement can be an inspiration and rallying point for the working class everywhere.

The common ownership and democratic control of the means of living, by and in the interest of society as a whole, is the only insurance of a future worth living for.

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News in Review

Martyrs Wanted

THE railways have been carrying a deficit for many years, although it is possible that at some time in the future they will again become a direct profit-making concern. In the meantime, the railways are vital to the smooth running of industry generally.

The railway deficit was a useful propaganda weapon which the Railway Commission wielded in an effort to stave off the railwaymen's claim for higher wages last month, along with the well worn slogans like "the welfare of the rest of society," and "the good of the country." It is unrealistic for the Railway Commission to expect that one section of the community should martyr itself to "the national interest," that is to say, to the interest of the capitalist class as a whole, when workers generally are involved in a constant struggle to secure a living wage. The railwaymen should not be misled by these meaningless catch-phrases, or be swayed in their determination to increase their pitifully low wages. They would be enjoying a much higher standard of living if they had gone about achieving this in a more militant way, with unity and greater purpose.

Clause Four

THE Labour Party's present wrangle over the possible revision of its constitution is merely a further commentary on this party's reformist character. Mr. Gaitskell has hit back at his critics who object to his plan to alter the clause which pledges the party to 100 per cent. nationalisation. The rank and file are now told that a revised constitution is essential to enable the party to win the next election—which is an interesting comment on the way the Labour Party leaders' minds work. Gaitskell's opponents have called his plans "a betrayal of Socialism." But since nationalisation has got nothing to do with Socialism this criticism is very wide of the mark.

In an article entitled "The future of the Left" (*Encounter*, March, 1960), C. A. R. Crosland, M.P. explains that the Labour Party now accepts a "mixed economy" and is no longer committed to "complete public ownership of all the means of production, distribution,

and exchange." He goes on further to say "Mr. Gaitskell's (Blackpool) speech came as a great surprise to many of the rank and file who have not grasped what the leadership have been saying for the past ten years." But what have the Labour Party leadership been saying for the last ten years? They have been very busy in offering suggestions and assisting the present Government to run capitalism or, as they would now have us believe, a "mixed economy."

The battle over clause four has nothing to do with Socialism. Whether clause four is revised or not, capitalism, under Tory and Labour Governments, will continue to produce its nightmares of insecurity and threatened mass annihilation.

Mining Disaster

THE beginning of 1960 has seen two major coalmine disasters, first in South Africa, and then in East Germany. In the South African case, the disaster was in the Clydesdale Colliery at Coalbrook, where 435 miners were entombed. It may be thought that disasters in South African mines of the magnitude of this one are isolated, but although not involving so many men at a time, there are many accidents each year, the 1959 figures showing non-white deaths in the mines as 733 (*Johannesburg Star*, 29/1/60). However embarrassing it may be for the South African Government with its policy of apartheid, five of the 435 men buried together in the mine were white. Separate religious services were held at the pithead at the time of the disaster, one for the five white men and one for the 430 Africans. Under the Workmen's Compensation Act, which covers African and white mine-workers, there is a grant of £40 for burial expenses for whites but only £15 for Africans. The compensation payable to widows and dependants of the dead men will also be reckoned with due regard to the colour of their skins. Widows of Europeans will be entitled to £13 4s. per month if childless, with an extra £6 12s. per month for each child, but a maximum of £33 per month, regardless of the number of children. African widows will be entitled to a lump sum, handled by a trust fund in Pretoria, which only produces between

£3 and £4 a month (*Johannesburg Star*, 4/2/60). Apartheid still operates even after death.

Four Minutes

SOME years ago the phrase "I've only got four minutes," was made popular as the opening gambit of a music-hall comedian. Little did he know that in a few short years his phrase would take on a new and terrible significance.

Four minutes, we are told, is all the time that we will have between the warning of an approaching enemy rocket and its arrival on target. For this purpose the Government is spending something in the region of fifty million pounds, so that we can be informed in advance of our impending demise.

Whether one agrees or disagrees with this venture, it seems a pretty hopeless prospect to know that the possibility for destroying us all has now been reduced to a four-minute job. Man's destructive capacity is now such a fine art, with push-button rockets and hydrogen bombs that can devastate a whole country, that the mind boggles at this latest madness.

Thus it is not surprising that people feel totally inadequate to cope with this kind of insanity, and tend to rationalise these happenings by thinking that atom bombs would never be used anyway. In this situation, to be an optimist where such tremendous grounds for pessimism exist, becomes necessary for one's own sanity. Socialists themselves are not free from this, but at least they are trying to do something about it. What about you?

Jackboot Revival

DURING the current period of boom and peace old enemies have been forgotten, but recently there has been a slight stir on the western front. Germany has revived, and with this revival have come insidious outbursts of anti-semitism, and more recently, negotiations between Adenauer and Franco with the aim of setting up military bases in Spain. Hands have gone up in horror, as one might expect, and although these negotiations have come as a surprise to ordinary people, it is clear that the British Govern-

ment have known about this for quite a time.

"Why the secrecy?", one may ask. Indeed, it is a puzzle which would to many people be too involved to fit together. However, the explanation is not too difficult to find. Britain and France are in a sticky position. The world situation is now one of "West" versus "East," with Western Germany belonging to the West and East Germany belonging to the East. In these circumstances, Allied countries are prepared to forgive and forget old enemies, and recruit them against old friends. However, no-one has quite forgotten the last war and that Spain was the training-ground for the German soldiers used in World War II.

Herr Strauss, the German Minister of Defence, in charge of the army, discussing uniforms for the new West German Army, was reported to have said: "Jackboots will march for Democracy." What a paradox! One can envisage the logical conclusion of this view and see racial extermination and the establishment of concentration camps carried out in the name of democracy as well. It is also well to note that Herr Strauss was one of the small minority in the West German Parliament that voted against reparations for Jews who suffered under the Nazi regime.

Where will it end? Our friends are our enemies and our enemies have become friends. It seems reasonable to suppose that these crazy paradoxical antics of the politicians will continue until the British working class abandons completely the pernicious nationalisms that are foisted on them by their leaders, and comes to recognise their identity of interests with the working people of all countries.

Spare a Penny

A CYCLONE in Mauritius kills thirty-nine, wrecks forty thousand buildings, makes a hundred thousand homeless, and destroys much of the sugar crop on which the economy of the island rests. An earthquake devastates the town of Agadir in Morocco, killing over twelve thousand people. Now appeals are launched on behalf of the disaster areas. This rattling of cans under the noses of the public is the way misfortunes are dealt with under capitalism. In a Socialist society the care of the injured, and the support of the dependants of the dead, would not be left to charity. They, like every other member of the human society, would participate freely in the goods produced by society.

Right to Strike

ARISING from an article appearing in the *Sunday Times* headed "The Right to Strike" on the 14th February, 1960, there appeared in the correspondence column on the following Sunday a very interesting letter, also under the heading "The Right to Strike." Amongst other things, the contributor made the following observations: "I personally believe that in a free society, the rights of an individual to apply or withhold his labour must be maintained in all but the most exceptional of circumstances, such as a major threat to the life of the community." He also said: "Thus in a tightly integrated society, where interdependence characterises all major spheres of activity, any one of a large number of small groups could by the irresponsible use of rights, affect the very ability of the population to live." He then went on to quote as examples, "The medical profession and workers in sewage disposal, water supply, power supply, and other vital services." It would seem that although trade unionists should have the "right to strike," under no circumstances should they use it.

His conclusion, however, deserves close examination: he said, "The only solution lies in a much greater attention by the management to all aspects of human relationships and—preferably at an early age—the inculcation into the minds of working people their duties and responsibilities as trade unionists and citizens living in the second half of the 20th century." It reminds one of the Jesuit claim that a child of seven taken into the Roman Catholic Church remains a Catholic for life.

This argument of "responsibility" has been used in the past, for instance, in connection with the recent threatened railway strike. But throughout his letter the contributor, except for his reference to the management's greater attention to "all aspects of human relationships," puts no responsibility whatsoever on the capitalist class. This is understandable, for as a section of society who produce nothing, their responsibility is only to themselves. Their responsibility is to profits not to people. These profits can only be maintained at the expense of the working class, and when, because of the refusal of sections of the capitalist class to meet demands for increases in wages, trade unionists take action by us-

ing the strike weapon, the whole force of the capitalist class, through the medium of the Government, Press and sometimes trade union leaders, is used to prate about "responsibilities" to society. No-one, of course, talks about the responsibility of the capitalist class to workers trying to raise families on £7 to £8 per week (e.g., the railway workers). No, their plight is conveniently forgotten "in the interest of the country." What humbug!

However, one thing should be clear to trade unionists on these issues. The capitalists cannot do without us, but we can dispense with their services, for they do not sow neither do they reap; they are, in fact, a useless, parasitical class who are a permanent brake on society.

Now, back to our contributor. One



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would think he was a pillar of capitalism—perhaps Mr. Macmillan, the Tory Prime Minister, or the Tory Minister of Labour. But anyone who thought this would be wrong. It was Mr. Carron, President of the Amalgamated Engineering Union. Trade unionists may be surprised at this—we are not.

We are very sceptical of the statements and attitudes of trade union leaders, for we can remember that many trade union leaders supported the capitalist Labour Government and their wage-freeze policy in the years 1947 to 1950, much to the detriment of the workers.

J. P. E.

For the Socialist Party's views on Human Nature, Democracy, Labour and Conservative Parties, Nationalism, Religion and many other topics.

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY

1/- (1/3 post paid) from SPGB 52 Clapham High Street, SW4

And Yet War Came

In vast numbers of people during the Twenties and Thirties there grew up a revulsion against war, a reaction against the senseless slaughter of World War One. Writers like Remarque (*All Quiet on the Western Front*) and H. G. Wells (*The Shape of Things to Come*) attempted to show the futility of war and the possible destruction of civilisation. On the political field, popularity and votes could be won by politicians claiming to be in favour of disarmament, and armament manufacturers were pilloried as the "merchants of death." Basil Zaharoff was held up as an example, with his supplying of arms to both sides. Prominent politicians like George Lansbury and Stafford Cripps won fame by their opposition to war. There was the "Peace Letter" campaign, which held great sway among the opponents of war. Its aims were linked with the League of Nations, whose alleged purpose was to assemble all the nations for the settlement of differences by discussion and reason. And yet war came.

Those people who formerly opposed it changed to support on the grounds that it was the lesser of two evils. That the horrors of Nazism and Fascism were worse than the horror of war. Politicians whose popularity had rested on disarmament and appeasement were reviled and replaced by those more determined to prosecute the war. Hitler, Mussolini and

Tojo became the personifications of evil.

The Allies, in order to prosecute their war aims more successfully, drew up the Atlantic Charter and its declaration of human rights. The sweeping away of poverty and the degradation of the common man, was pronounced a major war aim. Despite Churchill's popularity as a war leader, the desire for change at the end of the war resulted in the election of a Labour Government with an overwhelming majority. 1945 was thought to be the beginning of a new era. The "Welfare State" was ushered in with loud acclaim.

Yet for all the blood, toil, tears, and sweat, what has become of the hopes and ambitions of those years? Has the threat of war been abolished? Have the antagonisms and tensions between nations ended? Hitler, Mussolini and Tojo are gone; Krushchev, Chou-En-Lai, and Nasser, are now the "villains of the peace." Instead of Fascism, Communism is now held up as the barrier to the peace and stability of the world.

Politicians say that one of the causes of the last war was the weakness of the Allies in their policy of appeasement. It is claimed that this encouraged aggression by the Axis powers—therefore, we should be armed and ready to deter any potential aggressor even if it means going to the very brink of war itself, as advocated by the late American Secretary of State.

John Foster Dulles. Labour Party leaders now support nuclear weapons, for to argue from strength, they say, is the only way of maintaining Britain's position in a world charged with aggressiveness. This is the ludicrous situation—all the nations are determined to have peace, even if they have to go to war to get it.

As much as people are opposed to war, history teaches us that mere opposition is not enough. Socialists are more than just opposed to war. We are opposed to a system that is the direct cause of war situations and finally of war itself. What is this system? It means private ownership, working for wages, the buying and selling of goods, and the acceptance of trade, both national and international, as the only way people can get the things they need. Armies, Navies, Air and Police forces exist and function for the sole purpose of maintaining and protecting property institutions. This is the main reason for the division of the world into national competitive groups.

Anyone who supports this system is an agent of that same process that produces a Hitler, Gas Chambers, a Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and all the other horrors of modern war. Here is the irony of it all. That in their daily lives the way in which people get their living produces a monstrous situation for which there is only a monstrous and yet temporary solution. Having defeated the supposed enemy, they then bring about the situation which nobody wanted in the first place. The Socialist solution runs counter to everything that supports existing property institutions.

Socialists want a world based upon voluntary co-operation, in order that the products of men's efforts can be of free access—a world where money will not be necessary.

We want people to break out of this vicious circle that perpetuates the ideas of property society. We want their thinking to be Socialist thinking.

J. G.

For a socialist analysis of war read

SOCIALIST PARTY AND WAR

1/3 post paid, from SPGB
52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4

Woman at Work

SOMEONE recently made the discovery that lots of married women now go to work—somewhere about one in three. Of course, everyone knew that many married women did this—it was merely the number, and the increase over pre-war days, that was surprising.

This fact alone provides an explanation of much of the working class's newfound prosperity. This is what pays the hire-purchase on the telly and maybe the mortgage repayments. In other words, the working-class family is buying its so-called prosperity at a high price.

It is difficult to guess whether the desire for the new shiny gadgets is the principal factor in this phenomenon, or whether it is merely the reflection of women's increased emancipation from male domination, so that she goes to work simply because it is better than being imprisoned within the four walls of the home, with the washing-up and un-hoovered carpet staring her in the face.

From a purely economic viewpoint, the increase in the number of women at work probably operates as a drag on the increase of wages of male workers, but in time of boom the effect is not too great. The trouble is that capitalism doesn't give endless full-employment, but operates in a cycle in which lack of jobs supplants an excess of jobs. When this time arrives, the working-class family will be in a doubly insecure position, because their family commitments and standard of living have become based on two or even more wage-earners in the family. In the same way, illness or the arrival of children can also have a disastrous effect on the family budget.

What then is wrong with this process? Surely one cannot object to working-class families enjoying more of the things that society can provide? The answer is that every new wage-earner brings added insecurity along with his or her additional income, a paradox that only an irrational social system such as ours could provide. In this situation the pregnancy of a working wife becomes a major problem rather than a source of joy. And what is to be said of a nice new home full of new furniture and gadgets when no-one is at home during the day to enjoy it, and where the working members of the family are too tired to enjoy it anyway when they return from work. Too tired to do anything, in fact, but to flop down in the G-plan armchair and watch the telly.

It is true that one cannot turn the clock back, and no-one wants to return to the times when the woman's place was in the home, and where the wage-earners' toil was matched by the home drudgery of the housewife. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to hope for a time when ordinary people, both men and women, will be able to enjoy both leisure and the comforts of life without the nagging worries of insecurity and the phony values of a glittering, but essentially dross, world.

H. W. C.

To the Editor



Psychology and Socialism

I have read E.W.'s review of Professor Galbraith's book in the *Socialist Standard* for December, 1959, with pleasure. But I want to take issue with the central argument underlying the review. E.W. writes: "What is wrong, according to Professor Galbraith, is not the social system but the system of ideas. . . . In that case, phrenology or psychology would appear to be more relevant to the studies of the problem of our times than economics." To lump together phrenology and psychology is tantamount to combining astrology with astronomy, and unworthy of a scientific Marxian. Moreover, such an argument may induce serious readers to reject the legitimate claims which can be made for a truly Socialist society.

I believe the contributions which psychology has to make in the fight for Socialism have not been sufficiently explored. If it is true that the main ills of the world spring from the economic system, this system has not developed independently of human minds. Nowhere outside the human mind can the decision be made that the system shall be changed. The ultimate justification for a Socialist society is not economic but rests on concepts which come within the province of psychology human dignity is the concept that springs to mind first. Scientific psychology has something to tell us about comfort, about equality, and about freedom; these are the three ends stressed at the end of the declaration of principles of the SPGB (These were also the ends upheld by the French revolution, before Marx, except that comfort has now been substituted for fraternity!)

Economists who work on behalf of capitalism have not been slow to utilize the fruits of psychology, usually to evil ends ("subliminal" advertising, "motivational" research into impulse-spending, etc.). Let Socialists also face the facts about the "sales resistance" they encounter when trying to educate people in their legitimate rights and interests, and let us study the problem scientifically.

Edinburgh.

M. G.

Reply

We agree that phrenology and psychology should not be confused: the former seems to contain a larger amount of quackery than the latter. E.W.'s review mentioned them in the same sentence only to show the absurdity of Professor Galbraith's view, point that defects in our system of ideas, rather than in our economic system, are responsible for social problems.

It is true that man's economic system has not developed independently of his ideas, or without men themselves working on it, through their ideas and actions. But these ideas and actions are themselves largely limited by the physical surroundings in which man finds himself and cannot operate outside those surroundings. Man's physical and economic conditions are, at any one time, developed from earlier conditions and his knowledge, built from earlier knowledge, is derived from those conditions. Thus, although the decision to change society into Socialism can only be made in human minds, that decision will not occur to the minds until the economic and social contradictions of capitalism have accumulated the evidence which makes that decision desirable. When that happens, men's conceptions of dignity, freedom and comfort will be different to those which are generally held today—and the material conditions of capitalism, not any brilliant, abstract ideas, will be responsible for the change.

The raw material with which Socialists must work is the social consciousness of men. But this consciousness can only be understood by reference to society's economic organisation. The effects of this organisation also limit the success of the advertising men (psychological approach and all), for the most skilful advertising can do little to save an industry which becomes caught in a slump. Similarly, what M.G. calls "sales resistance" to Socialism is in fact working class acceptance of their material state under capitalism. To change this, Socialists employ all the persuasiveness they can muster. But our propaganda would fall without the supporting evidence which the material conditions of capitalism—its wars, poverty, insecurity—are constantly providing.

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.

We invite our readers to send letters of comment and criticism. Please keep your letters as short as possible.

Nuclear Disarmament

A Message for Aldermaston Marchers

WHEN your house is on fire you drop everything until you have put out the flames: and if your neighbours come in to help, you are glad to see them, without asking whether they are vegetarians or teetotalers or anything else. So might the campaign for Nuclear Disarmament argue, to justify the political diversity of their membership, united as it is only in the desire to abolish nuclear weapons.

We can all agree that these weapons are monstrous. The two Japanese cities were terrible enough: since then, the bombs have been made many times more destructive. The Home Office publication *Nuclear Weapons* estimated that a bomb a little smaller than that exploded by the Americans at Bikini in 1954 would cause total or irreparable damage for a radius of six miles and would certainly kill everybody within half a mile, by burns if not from other causes. A Chief Inspector of Fire Brigades has said that a hydrogen bomb on London could cause 100,000 fires—and might temporarily alter the course of the Thames. These forebodings are several years old. Now we have even bigger bombs, and rockets which can deliver them over thousands of miles. Yes, nuclear weapons must be abolished. How can it

be done?

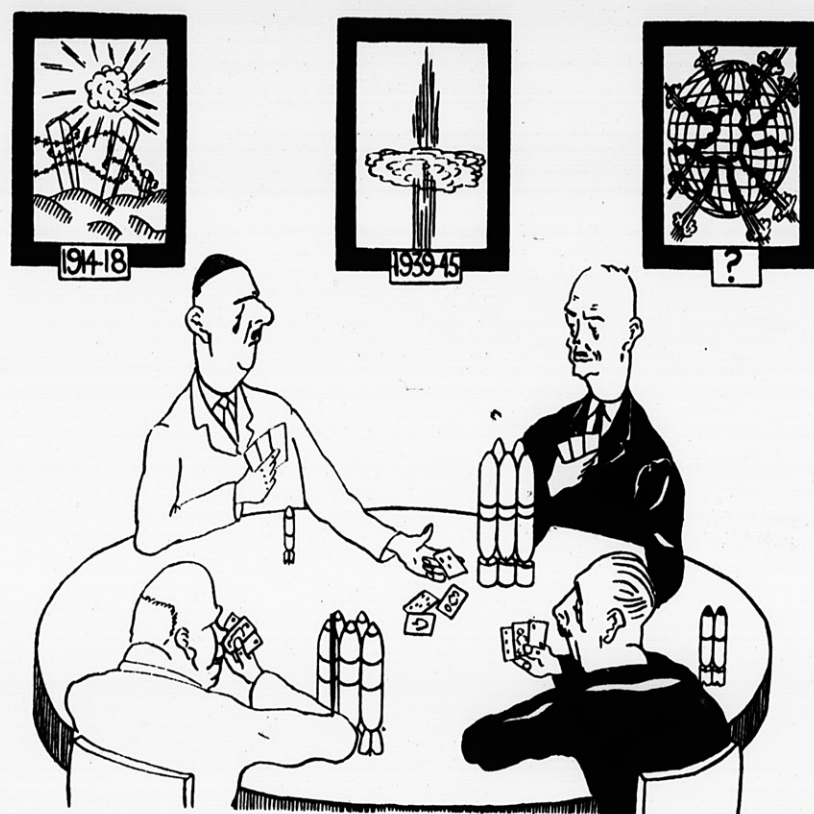
What if the governments yielded to the pressure of the nuclear disarmers and agreed to scrap their bombs? This would be worth no more than all the other solemn vows to disarm, or to refrain from taking up arms, or to be non-aggressive, which governments, when it suited them, have broken in the past. The fact that Germany in 1919 signed an agreement not to arm did not prevent her becoming a powerful military nation a few years later. The non-aggression pact of 1939 between Germany and Russia did not prevent the conflict of 1941-45. But let us suppose that governments, strangely, kept the promise to forego their nuclear weapons. That would only take us back to 1945, when wars were fought with blockbusters and flame throwers and Napalm bombs. There is nothing desirable about that. Or we could make a really good job of it and go back to the weapons of 1914-18. Or 1870, or 1415 or 1066.

Of course, it is foolish to expect a modern government to run an army of longbowmen. It seems too obvious to say that as one country develops a weapon, so the others must find one similar or better. That is how the mili-

tary aircraft and the nuclear bomb, for example, were born. Nowadays, no foreign minister has much of a say unless he has a fistful of H-bombs. In the last election campaign, Sir Winston Churchill said, "... you are more likely to obtain a hearing for your views if you have some substantial stake in the balance of world power. And these stakes ... are still much measured in military terms." To win a stake in world power, the French and Chinese are working up their atom bombs—and the established nuclear powers, to keep their stake, have to make rockets and missiles with Hydrogen bomb war heads.

When the first French atom bomb was exploded a few weeks back, General de Gaulle exclaimed, "Hurrah for France!" He knew that he was really saying hurrah for destruction and death, because that is what military power means. But military power is only necessary to modern states because in peace and war, they are struggling for economic advantage. This is a world where everything is produced with the intention of selling it profitably, which means that sellers compete for markets, manufacturers for plentiful raw material sources and transporters for trading routes. These are the disputes which, when everything else fails, are settled by force—by war. So France hangs on to Algeria for, among other things, the oil that is there. So Britain fought for years in Cyprus, because it is a base near the strategically important Suez Canal and the vital Middle East oilfields. So the last two world wars were started—and so a third could start if, for example, Russian economic influence in the Middle East or the Caribbean became too great a threat to British and American interests.

In these conditions, national states are bound to maintain a military machine to fight for the interests of their ruling classes and to equip that machine with the most powerful—the most deadly—weapons possible. It is futile to expect them to do otherwise. In 1917, it would have been suicidal for them to have thrown away their tanks, or in 1944 their bombers. In 1960 they are similarly reluctant to give up their nuclear bombs. There is only one way to deal effectively with this problem. Go to the roots. The capitalist system is the cause, from beginning to end, of modern war and



A game for any number of players!

the horrifying methods of its prosecution.

Marching from Aldermaston, sitting in the mud at Swaffham, or lying in jail, the nuclear campaigners deserve our respect for their concern with one of the horrors of modern society. But we can only regret that so much energy is wasted in such a topsy-turvy movement. If it is desirable to abolish one weapon

of war, how much more so is it to get rid of them all? Or to get rid of war itself? Our house is burning because it is made of inflammable materials—and people will keep dropping lighted matches. It is useless to tackle each fire as it breaks out. We must build ourselves a new house.

IVAN.

John Ruskin

A Man or a Tool

"Understand this clearly: You can teach a man to draw a straight line, and to cut one; to strike a curved line, and to carve it; and to copy and carve any number of given lines or forms, with admirable speed and perfect precision; and to find his work perfect of its kind; but if you ask him to think about any of those forms, to consider if he cannot find any better in his own head, he stops; his execution becomes hesitating; he thinks, and ten to one he thinks wrong; ten to one he makes a mistake in the first touch he gives to his work as a thinking being. But you have made a man of him for all that. He was only a machine before, an animated tool.

"And observe, you are put to stern choice in this matter. You must either make a tool of the creature, or a man of him. You cannot make both. Men were not intended to work with the accuracy of tools, to be precise and perfect in all their actions. If you will have that precision out of them, and make their fingers measure degrees like cog-wheels, and their arms strike curves like compasses, you must unhumanize them. All the energy of their spirits must be given to make cogs and compasses of themselves. All their attention and strength must go to the accomplishment of the mean act. The eye of the soul must be bent upon the finger-point, and the soul's force must fill all the invisible nerves that guide it, ten hours a day, that it may not err from its steely precision, and so soul and sight be worn away, and the whole human being be lost at last—a heap of sawdust, so far as its intellectual work in this world is concerned; saved only by its Heart, which cannot go into the form of cogs and compasses, but expands, after the ten hours are over, into fireside humanity.

"On the other hand, if you make a man of the working creature, you cannot

make a tool. Let him but begin to imagine, to think, to try to do anything worth doing; and the engine-turned precision is lost at once. Out come all his roughness, all his dullness, all his incapability; shame upon shame, failure upon failure, pause after pause: but out comes the whole majesty of him also; and we know the height of it only when we see the clouds settling upon him. And, whether the clouds be bright or dark, there will be transfiguration behind and within him."

"We have much studied and much perfected, of late, the great civilized invention of the division of labour; only we give it a false name. It is not, truly speaking, the labour that is divided; but the men—divided into mere segments of men—broken into small fragments and crumbs of life; so that all the little piece of intelligence that is left in a man is not enough to make a pin, or a nail, but exhausts itself in making the point of a pin, or the head of a nail. Now it is a good and desirable thing, truly, to make many pins in a day; but if we could only see with what crystal sand their points were polished—sand of human soul, much to be magnified before it can be discerned for what it is—we should think there might be some loss in it also.

"And the great cry that rises from all our manufacturing cities, louder than their furnace blast, is all in very deed for this—that we manufacture everything there except men; we blanch cotton, and strengthen steel, and refine sugar, and shape pottery; but to brighten, to strengthen, to refine, or to form a single living spirit, never enters into our estimate of advantages."

JOHN RUSKIN, *The Stones of Venice*.
Extracted from Volume 2, *The Nature of the Gothic*.

Socialist Party
OF GREAT BRITAIN

OBJECT

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF
PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:
1) That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

2) That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

3) That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

4) That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

5) That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

6) That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

7) That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

8) The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desire enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

Finance & Industry

Russian Gold Policy

FROM time to time writers in financial journals speculate about the amount of gold produced in Russian mines and stored away in their equivalent of the American Fort Knox. They also wonder why the Russian Government sometimes appears as seller of gold in world bullion markets but for the most part seems reluctant to let it go. One suggestion has been that Russian costs of producing gold are very high and that they are holding it back in the hope (shared also by South African gold producers) that some day the American Government will raise its buying price for gold from the present 35 Dollars an ounce to perhaps 50 Dollars.

Mr. Paul Einzig in a letter to *The Times* (7/7/59) asked for more evidence about Russian high costs of production of gold, and pointed out that in any event gold used by the Russian Government to buy goods abroad is being used more profitably than when it is hidden away in Russian bank vaults. His conclusion was that the Russian Government "is determined to hoard a large gold stock for the sake of the economic and political power the possession of such a reserve entails."

It is certainly true that if the Russian authorities have hopes of building up the Rouble to be a world currency, as universally acceptable as the Dollar, they will need gold on a scale comparable to the reserves in U.S.A. Gold is still the indispensable basis of Capitalist inter-

national trade, universally acceptable and of great importance in war to obtain materials from abroad.

As to the amount of gold produced in Russia, it is generally accepted that Russia is second only to South Africa. As long ago as 1937 an official Russian government publication (*U.S.S.R. in Construction*) claimed that output had increased four and a half times in the previous six years. It was, they said, needed "to build up Socialism."

In 1934 Stalin told the Communist Party Congress:

We shall use money for a long time to come, right up to the time when the first stage of Communism, i.e., the Socialist stage of development, has been completed.

Much earlier still, Stalin's predecessor, Lenin, had improved on Sir Thomas More's 16th Century notion of using gold to pave the streets, by saying that when they conquered power on a world scale they would use gold "for making public lavatories in the streets of the great cities of the world." Such statements must seem very remote today to Russia's army of gold miners.

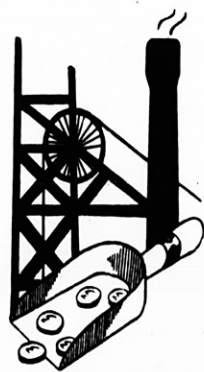
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And Russian Diamonds.

RUSSIA also has a prosperous and expanding diamond industry. Not so long ago the great South African diamond group, De Beers Diamond Corporation, was reported to be worried over the prospect "That the mounting Soviet production would be sold abroad cheaper than the De Beers gems and industrial stones." (*Daily Mail*, 19/1/60.)

As the Soviet News Agency *Tass* had reported that Russian diamond production was being enormously increased this threat was not one to be treated lightly, but in January came the news that Russia had linked up with De Beers and in future "All Russia's diamonds sold to the West will be marketed through the London offices of the Diamond Corporation." (*Daily Mail*, 19/1/60.) This was indeed good news for South African and other diamond interests.

De Beer's already controlled nine-tenths of world sales of diamonds and the link up with Russia had the effect of sending up De Beer's shares on the Stock Exchange.



Diamonds were firm with De Beers sparkling on the news that it has signed a marketing agreement with Russia. (*Evening Standard*, 19/1/60.)

* * *

Making the Pound Honest.

WHILE the Russian Government may be preparing to make the Rouble into a world currency one problem of British capitalism is to prevent the paper pound from slipping any further than it has already. In 1925 it was equivalent to 4.86 dollars. Since then it has declined first to 4 and then to 2.8 dollars, and the Dollar itself has had its gold content reduced to about half.

Probably nobody expects the pound to recover lost ground, but certainly the Government and the Opposition are now united in holding that it should not be allowed to drop further: which is quite a change from the Labour Party's attitude in the nineteen thirties. Then they welcomed it as a supposed release from the tyranny of the bankers.

The last time there was a risk of further devaluation, in 1957, Mr. Richard Crossman, Labour M.P., wrote:

Mr. Gaitskell and his Shadow Chancellor, Mr. Harold Wilson, are just as determined as Mr. Thorneycroft to save the pound. (*Daily Mirror*, 24/9/57.)

It would be a pity to forget that the British Communist Party was also worried about British capitalism's pound. In a *Daily Worker* article, "The only way to Make an Honest Pound," J. R. Campbell urged expanded production and wrote of this country:

It is being left behind in the race to increase productive capacity—a fact that is more likely to undermine the pound than any other thing. (*Daily Worker*, 16/10/57.)

* * *

Traps for the Small Investor.

THE passage of time brings strange reversals of attitude in political parties concerned with running capitalism. At one time, when the Labour Party was planning wholesale nationalisation, it would not have occurred to a Labour

newspaper to advise its readers to buy ordinary shares in companies. They might have been advised to put their savings into a Savings Bank, or to buy some Government security. But since then many small investors who had the misfortune to put their savings into 2½ per cent. Treasury Stock when Dalton was Labour Chancellor of the Exchequer have seen the price fall from £100 to £45; and the Government has again declined to do anything about it.

So now the belief is spreading that small investors would do better to buy company shares, either directly or through Unit Trusts, and *Reynolds News* (6/3/60) suggests that co-operative societies and trade unions should form their own unit trusts for investment in ordinary shares.

The writer in *Reynolds News* ("Scorpio") thinks this would enable

workers to share in the rising profits of industry. If he thinks that profits only rise and never fall he had better think again, but even if it were true, how will this remedy the problem he sets out to solve, that in this country "one-third of the population has no measurable property; one person in every 100 owns nearly as much as the other 99"?

Another echo of far off days comes in an article by W. J. Brown, who years ago was a Labour M.P. always in a hurry to get the Party's programme put into operation. Then the Labour Party believed in "soaking the rich" and supported a steeply rising tax on incomes. Now Mr. Brown, who long ago left the Labour Party, is campaigning for the abolition of Surtax, or, failing abolition, at least the raising of the level of which it is payable, from £2,000 a year to £8,000.

H.

Racist Theories

Those individuals who put forward argued theories to justify racial discrimination, as distinct from the huge majority, whose prejudices are generally of the crudest and simplest kind, usually try to embroider their theories with a smattering of science. By this means, of course, they endeavour to lend an air of

scientific truth to their doctrines. This "science" generally consists in little more than the use of high-sounding phrases cunningly and skilfully worked into their other main arguments. Others, with a considerable knowledge of science, by devious means try to make the facts fit the particular theory they wish to put forward. Some of the less fanatical, very few in number, carry on genuine research work, but go completely off the rails when it comes to interpreting the results of their research. Such a man was Broca, a French investigator, who adopted various new methods of investigation which were afterwards taken over and developed by others of a more impartial turn of mind. These investigations, however, did not prevent him from putting forward race-theories based on the flimsiest of evidence. Of what value as a scientific investigator is he when, to explain on a race basis the existence of classes, he uses an argument like this?—

He measured 125 skulls found buried opposite the Palais de Justice in Paris. From their position below the surface he assigned them to the twelfth century, and from the aristocratic nature of the district in that century he believed them to belong to the upper classes. He compared them with 259 skulls originating from nineteenth century pauper's graves. He measured, multiplied, divided, grouped them, and then showed the difference between the wealthy classes of the Middle

Ages and the modern proletarians. (*Race: A Study in Modern Superstition*. Barzun, p. 164.)

This sort of argument is used by a man who, in scientific circles, has a standing. In what light must it throw the theories of the others!

The Jewish "Race"

There is not the slightest scientific evidence to show that the Jews are a race. They were not a "pure race" when they left the desert over 3,000 years ago; they are even less of a "pure race" today. Despite their segregation, compulsory and voluntary, they have frequently mixed with other peoples. Huxley describes them as a "socio-religious" group, and there is little to quarrel with in this. Although some Jews have themselves become bitten with the "racial bug," they can no more justify their belief in a "Jewish race" than the Nazis could justify their "Aryan race." In their efforts to defend themselves against the racialists, some Jews have become racialists themselves.

What Can I Do?

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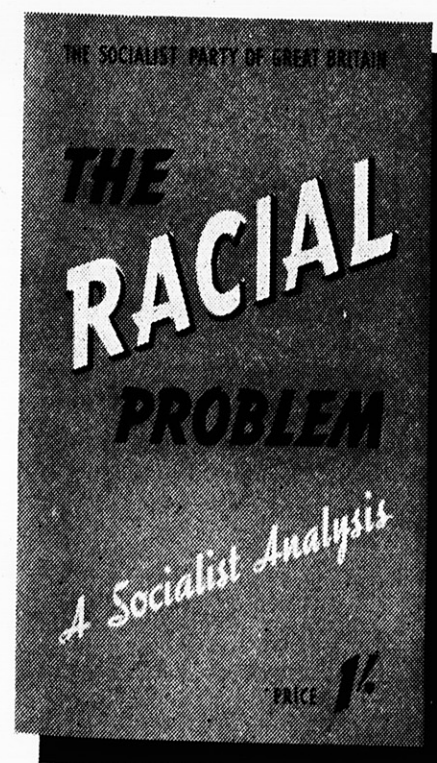
SCHOOLS TO-DAY

What's happening to the Schools?

The Socialist Party's recent pamphlet explains the basic reasons for the changes in modern education

6d.

Read



Transport and the Growth of Industry (4)

The Iron Horse

THE railways of Britain are continually under review and observation. It may be modernisation, the closing down of branch lines, poor time-keeping, dirty trains, high fares, or vile concoctions conjured up in the dining cars. In a few years we in this country will see the end of steam traction, a change already effected in other countries. No more shall we or our children be thrilled by the fierce glow from the fire box, with pungent swirling smoke as an express thunders through a station at night. Ours is no sentimental journey, however, but a short trip into the history of this form of transport, now an accepted part of our daily lives.

During the 18th century, production of coal and minerals as well as manufactures rapidly increased. Ships sailed away to distant lands and returned with new and precious materials; new areas were being opened to trade and settlement. The peasants, driven from the land by enclosures and poverty, swarmed into the industrial towns. A new type was appearing in Europe and North America; men who had engineering and technical skill, architects, scientists and chemists. The birth and growing-space of our capitalist world gave rise to a spate of bridge building, tunnels, docks and port installations, lighthouses and large public buildings. All of these works were necessary to the industrial revolution of commodity production.

One most noticeable feature of this

age was the change in transport. Stage coaches ran to time tables and canals criss-crossed Europe and the North Eastern States of America. The industrialists were faced with problems of which the foremost was to keep up the supply of raw materials to feed and maintain the constantly improving machines. Another factor was that the act of buying and selling was ceasing to be the leisurely affair of the country market. People engaged in business had to move around and visit other lands, and competition demanded speed and time-keeping.

Coal had been conveyed in trucks on rails for centuries, since it had been found that horses and men could haul heavier loads if the wheels ran on tracks. These early rails were made of wood, and they wore out fairly quickly. To overcome this, iron plates were laid over the wood (hence the term, platelayers). Another method was to lay the plates in troughs or ruts, the wheels fitting into the depression. The problem here was that the rut often became full of earth and coal. In 1788 William Jessop invented a flat rail with a flange, the basis of our modern permanent way.

First Public Railway

The first public railway ran from the Thames at Wandsworth to Croydon (Surrey Iron Railway, 1803). The rails were the older rut type, as there were not many flanged wheeled vehicles at that time in London. In 1805 a horse hauled 38½ tons, a distance of six miles in 1 hour 41 minutes, on this railway. That overworked horse certainly showed the value of railways to our profit and cash-conscious forebears.

Steam was the motive power in the new factories and it slowly killed the older water wheel. Steam powered factories could be built away from streams, right in the towns, provided coal and coke was available. Cornwall was enjoying a tin and copper boom and such names as Newcomen and James Watt took the stage in steam development. During the 1770/80s Watt and Boulton's great beam pump engines enabled miners to burrow deeper and overcome the ever-present problem of water in the shafts. There were many others in numerous countries that played

their part in the development of "Steam Heat." A most important study was made of the practical application of metal compounds, so essential to enable boilers to withstand increased pressure of steam.

It was inevitable that some clever engineers would try to convert these stationery steam engines to a mobile form of power, to replace the horse and the sail. In America a steamboat ran for a short period, and in 1819 a ship using steam crossed the Atlantic, but the white wings of sail held their own for many years. In the Cornish mines a young man, "Captain Dick" Trevithick made a small working model, steam driven, which ran around his room. By 1801 he had made his first steam carriage, which ran along the lanes at Camborne. Man had made his first Iron Horse. These steam coaches later ran in conjunction with the stage coaches and, from the prints of the period, strange-looking cumbersome vehicles they were. Trevithick later tried his hand at building a steam locomotive for the Pen-y-daren Iron Works in South Wales. Financed by Homfray, the Merthyr Ironmaster, the Cornishman built a one cylinder locomotive. On the trial day, February 21st, 1804, Trevithick wrote: "We carried 10 tons of iron, 5 wagons and 70 men." Alas, the weighty machine was too much for the primitive tracks and the iron plates broke under the pounding.

Trevithick, with his versatile restlessness, moved on from one project to another; in London in 1808 he ran a train around a circular track at Torrington Square (prophetically near to where Euston Station was to be built in 1837). Steel, one of his co-workers, built another heavyweight failure for Wylam Colliery, Northumberland; not important in itself, but Steel was a friend of an obscure working man, George Stephenson. Between them the findings and failings of steam locomotives were discussed at great length. Others went on building failures—and improvements. Monsters were even conceived which, their inventors fondly thought, would prance along on legs like a cast-iron Arab charger.

One cannot discuss railways without acknowledging George Stephenson and his son Robert. The elder man was born in 1781 at Wylam in poor conditions; he

worked on farms, but by the age of 14 was assistant fireman at Dewley Colliery, earning one shilling a day. By 1812 he was colliery engine wright on the pumps at Killingworth High Pit, repairing clocks and boots at night to supplement his poor wage. His son Robert went to school in Newcastle, and George, helped by the lad and a young friend, overcame his illiteracy and managed to study some works on engineering.

Stephenson, cut off from great wealthy architects like Telford and Rennie, had to spend his time discussing problems and theories on pay nights with his workmen friends. In those times there was an extreme shortage of mechanics, and engineers had great difficulty in getting their machines made in a reasonable time.

The man who brought Stephenson into the light was Nicholas Wood, a distinguished mining engineer. He noted Stephenson's keenness on machines and his interest in haulage and locomotive design. When Killingworth went in for steam traction to the coal docks on the Tyne, Stephenson secured the financial support of Lord Ravensworth, and built his first locomotive. From then on he and his son moved into prominence in the new world of railways, for not only were they engineers, but also had a broad mastery over architectural and surveying problems.

Stockton and Darlington

The best remembered work executed by the Stephensons was the 1825 Stockton and Darlington Railway which carried coal from the new pits near Bishop Auckland to the docks on the River Tees. Horse-drawn trucks were still the principal motive power on this line. The owners of the newly-built railways were still uncertain as to the value of the locomotives, and some leaned towards cable haulage. However, the Rainhill trials on the Liverpool and Manchester Railway in 1829 not only secured a victory for Stephenson with his *Rocket*, but showed that the technical infancy was past, and the Iron Horse had become a healthy adolescent.

The 1830/40s produced a crop of railway celebrities, such as Ericsson, Vignoles, Gooch and Locke. It was the Great Western, pushing out from Paddington to Bristol, that gave such a tremendous outlet for the versatile genius of Isambard Kingdom Brunel. The Hanwell viaduct in West London, built in 1837, remains untouched from Brunel's day, but the trains look down on a very different world, the world of

the internal combustion engine. Vast improvements in track laying took place, most noteworthy being the use of steel rails. Signalling evolved, as traffic increased, from the natural arm movement of the Railway Policeman, to the use of electricity and complex semaphores and coloured lights. In the 1840's the electric telegraph was being used to a limited extent by the Great Western and Midland Railways. The foundation of modern control was laid by John Saxby's interlocking and block device in the 1850's.

Railways were a social product; Victorian capitalist society needed them, and railways needed this same capitalist expansion for their very existence and development. They were and are part of the arteries of our society. From Great Britain the technical knowledge soon spread over Europe and N. America, and the improvements in engines, rolling stock, tracks and signalling became universal, interchanging and adapting to suit requirements.

The early engineers had to face hostility from older entrenched groups. They also suffered from a lack of surveying instruments, and poor Ordnance maps. The mass illiteracy of the times often delayed the use of improved signalling methods, a problem felt by all the early industrialists. The greatest evil has been the insatiable thirst for profit. Sound ideas have been modified or rejected in order to keep within a profitable margin or even solvency. As a result of this, hundreds of lives have been lost in dreadful accidents (although the casualties are small compared to our current road toll).

Towns were able to expand, as it was no longer necessary for employer or worker to live near the office or workshop. The steam train with its modern offspring—Underground Subway, Metro or Suburban, brings thousands each day into the centre of the cities, under tinned-sardine conditions.

George Stephenson once said: "The time is coming when it will be cheaper for a working man to travel on a railway than to walk on foot." We could hardly expect him to have looked forward to the day when transport would be regarded as necessary to the function of society, to be organised without the necessity for making a profit or hankering after subsidies. That will be the day when the men and women who work the railways will not have to argue before tribunals for their livelihoods. Railways, railwaymen—all the resources of society—will be devoted to the betterment of the whole of society.

JACK LAW.

50 Years Ago

RAILWAY NATIONALISATION

THE railways will be taken over. In the place of many railway systems and many competing companies with many staffs of workers, there will be the State railway run, and one efficient staff and worked in every way to yield the greatest amount of profit. The system may well be extended in certain other directions, where competition, overlapping and other forms of waste can be eliminated, and workers consequently displaced, pitched neck and crop into the flooded labour market, to beat wages lower.

*

Fellow workers, Capitalism and Socialism are as far as the poles asunder. Evolve it ever so long and through ever so many forms and stages, the former can never evolve into the latter. State Capitalism, as other forms of Capitalism, has its root in private property; Socialism must be rooted in common ownership. The change of the property condition from private to common is the one essential for the betterment of the workers.

From the SOCIALIST STANDARD,

April, 1910

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Address

Lib-Labs or Lab-Libs

ON the "left" of the Labour Party are a bunch of wordy, windy warriors who claim to be "convinced and dedicated Socialists." They are the "Tribune tribe."

You would, of course, be justified if you thought that "convinced and dedicated Socialists" meant men and women concerned with explaining to their fellow workers their class position in society. That this system with its class robbery, exploitation of wage-labour, and all that goes with them, gives rise to the predominant problems of today; and that the only solution is a society based on the holding in common, of all the world's wealth, by all the people of the earth—that is social equality. In one word, Socialism.

But how wrong you would be. For nothing is further from the truth. These windy wights are concerned with everything but Socialism. Although they claim to be Socialists, their very words and actions give the lie to their claim. Any issue of *Tribune* will bear this out, but the issue of February 26th is a case in point.

Apart from the current squabble on clause 4 of the Labour Party's constitution—as if public ownership ever had anything to do with Socialism—one article in particular bears out the statements made above.

This article, by Mr. David Boulton, "who came into politics through the Liberal Party, but has since joined the Labour Party..." is in essence a plea for the two parties—Liberal and Labour—to get together. However, in the course of his article he makes some revealing statements which show how non-Socialist he and his party are. The following are two examples:

The Liberal Party, like Labour, is less a compact body of like-minded political activists than a coalition of a number of different bodies of opinion with a startling deficiency of common denominators. Within its framework are the single-

taxers, the extreme laissez-faire school, the unilateral free-traders, the incurable "lost causers" and "I'm-for-the-under-dog"-ers, "conservatism-without-tears," preachers and the genuine radicals.

The Labour and Liberal Parties each pay lip-service to the idea of redressing, in some way, the absurd ill-balance of national wealth in which the vast bulk of industrial property is held by a tiny proportion of the population.

There you have it, straight from the horse's mouth. Having delivered himself of these home truths, our ex-Liberal cum-Labourite then considers that "Liberal Socialism and social Liberalism"—read Labour and Liberal Parties—have much to learn from each other.

Books

The Missing Link

Adventures With the Missing Link
By Raymond Dart (*Hamish Hamilton*)

This book can be confidently recommended to readers of the *Socialist Standard* and all those interested in human evolution. Couched in a readable narrative style, partly because the story is largely autobiographical, it recounts thirty years' research in South Africa.

It starts with the accidental discovery in 1924, of an ape-like skull, more human than any living ape or ape fossil known. Professor Dart considered his discovery fundamental—a real missing link between ape and man—and he named it *Southern Ape*. As is usual, this conflicted with established ideas, and twenty years elapsed before confirmation came from fresh finds in another South African mine.

Perhaps the most interesting parts of the book are Dart's theoretical conclusions. Basing his views on knowledge of the terrain he has proved that *Australopithecus* killed his prey with bone weapons made into knives and clubs, antelope jaw bones.

"Only when industry and transport etc, are owned and democratically controlled by the whole community can service to the whole community be a reality. Nationalisation or State Capitalism is not the solution to the problem"

SOCIALISM OR NATIONALISATION (1/-)

One would have doubted this as they have both been at the game for a long time, but Mr. Boulton is nothing if not naive. He goes on to make the most astonishing statement about the aforesaid parties. He says: "Both work toward a society in which wage slavery will be abolished..."

Where and when Mr. Boulton? We have been in existence for 56 years just for this very purpose, and it is the first time that we have heard that this is what the Labour and Liberal parties stand for.

JON KEYS.

and giraffe leg bones. Skulls of powerful and large animals were smashed in by deadly blows, sometimes from the front, and no ape can do this. Also, quite unlike apes, on occasions they killed and ate each other.

He therefore presents a powerful case for the Bone culture age of Ape Man, thus filling in many of the gaps previously existing in known human history.

The story of human descent will probably never be really complete—certainly never complete enough to convince those who can't do without a Creator—but Professor Dart's contribution has permanently enriched it.

A powerful book.

HORATIO.

Rubber Bullets

Indian police are experimenting with rubber bullets instead of lead ones. These do far less damage and are just as effective in controlling crowds. The investigation was prompted by the large number of deaths through shooting by the police during agitations in various parts of the country, which it is understood has aroused some adverse comment.

Ballistics experts are now working on the problem at the Ishapore Gun and Shell Factory near Calcutta.

Rubber Developments, Vol. 12, No. 4.

The Journal of Scientific Socialism
from Canada and the U.S.A.

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The
WESTERN
SOCIALIST



From the Branches

Annual Conference Programme

Conference begins at 11 am on Friday, April 15th; 2.30 pm Saturday 16th and 11 am on Sunday, April 17th. The Agenda is a large one and Comrades are asked to get along promptly each day. On Friday evening at 8 pm a Social and "Get-together" has been arranged at Head Office, 52 Clapham High Street, SW4. This event is an excellent occasion for Comrades and friends to have a jolly evening; dancing, drinking, eating, talking, and in fact taking part in everything that is going on. On Saturday, 16th April, at Conway Hall (the Conference venue) the Party's Annual Social and Dance will be held from 7.30 pm. This is an evening to which Comrades particularly look forward. The hall is large and light, the band is always good and without doubt a good time will be had by all. On Sunday evening, at Conway Hall, the Annual Rally will be held at 7.30 pm. Full details on "Meetings" page. Make a note of these dates and times and ensure that this is the best Annual Conference for years.

Socialist Standard

The March issue had a special emphasis on Africa—did you double your order for *Standards* to help to pay the added cost of production? It may not be too late now to get some extra copies. Should they be all sold, make a note to do this for forthcoming issues—it needs only to sell a few hundred more copies to greatly reduce the cost. What better way of propagating the case for Socialism?

To Writers

The monthly meeting of writers will in future be held on the first Thursday of each month instead of on the last Monday as formerly. The next meeting will therefore be held on 5th May, at Head Office, beginning at 8 p.m.

We ask all writers to make a special effort to attend these meetings, which provide a regular opportunity to exchange ideas and opinions and are at the same time most useful to the S.S. Production Committee in planning the *Standard*.

Outdoor Propaganda

In London and the provinces, not forgetting Glasgow, outdoor propaganda will re-open with, we hope, the fine weather.

Annual Conference

Social & Dance

Saturday 16th April
Conway Hall
7.30-11 pm

PARTY NOTICES

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the SPGB Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4, at 7.30 p.m.

ORDERS for literature should be sent to the Literature Department, SPGB, at the above address.

CORRESPONDENCE for the Executive Committee should be sent to the General Secretary, SPGB, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4. (Telephone: Macaulay 3811).

LETTERS containing postal orders, etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, SPGB, at the above address. Postal orders and cheques should be crossed and made payable to the SPGB.

Annual Conference 1960

Easter, April 15th, 16th and 17th
Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, WC1



FRIDAY - 11 pm - 6 pm

SATURDAY 2.30 pm - 6 pm

SUNDAY - 11 am - 6 pm



Conference Rally Sunday 7.30 pm

A FUTURE WORTH LIVING FOR

Speakers: Cook (Birmingham) James (Nottingham)

RELIGION & PATRIOTISM

The Passing Show

No excuse for less work

RELIGION is one of the chief allies of the ruling class, but as capitalism develops some of the old religious observances become impediments. When that happens, of course, religion has to give way. Even the great usefulness of religion to the ruling class does not compensate for the loss of profits. One example is the Moslem ceremony of Ramadan, in which for thirty days Moslems may not eat or drink during daylight. This means that as soon as dusk falls there is a rush to eat and drink, which often develops into all-night parties. The result is that the workers' output, and the employers' surplus value, declines. As the *News Chronicle* (5/3/60) puts it:

Up to now, as in the rest of the Moslem world, Tunisia's life came almost to a standstill during Ramadan because of the dawn to dusk fast. In some cases production dropped 70 per cent.

President Bourguiba, who runs the state machine on behalf of the emerging Tunisian capitalist class, could not be expected to tolerate that. Capitalism demands hard, regular toil from its workers, whatever religion may say. So the President acted.

Bourguiba has not banned the fast outright. But he has stated firmly that fasting will not be accepted as an excuse for less work.

And, apparently, this warning is having an effect. The article says, "Tunisians are now obeying his order to work as usual during Ramadan." So Bourguiba justifies his position as Tunisian capitalism's chief executive.

His country

FROM Tunisian capitalism to the British variety. The status quo here can have few stauncher defenders than some of our trade union leaders. One of them is Sir Frederick Burrows, ex-president of the National Union of Railwaymen. Sir Frederick felt moved recently to let the public know his views on the planned railway strike. The paper he chose to write to was *The Times* (10/2/60), which can be read by only a minority of railwaymen (it costs fourpence a day for a start); its readership is mostly either ruling class or those who like to think

that they are "top people." Sir Frederick finished his letter as follows:

If the N.U.R. desire to perpetuate Tory rule for another decade, if they wish to make the very name of railwaymen a scoff and a by-word, then they will strike. but I, personally, have more faith in their judgment. I trust that they will reject the advice of the malcontents in their ranks and act once again the splendid role they played in the war, when one and all stood for England—My Country, right or wrong.

Surely even a member of the ruling class would hesitate these days before trotting out again such hackneyed clichés. Even G. K. Chesterton, who was very far from being a Socialist, said that to say, "My country, right or wrong," was like saying "My mother, drunk or sober." But Sir Frederick rushes in with his jingoistic farrago where others might fear to tread. No wonder he chose the "top people's" paper to write to.

It's those foreigners again

FROM the *Guardian* of 10/2/60, under a Pretoria date-line:

Police armed with Sten guns, rifles and revolvers stood by today at Mooiplats squatter camp about five miles south-west of here while a bulldozer flattened houses, shanties and hovels from which 300 African families with no other homes are being evicted. The camp has existed since 1926. As walls crashed in clouds of dust lorries piled high with African men, women and children and their possessions left the camp. Mooiplats has been declared an area for Indians. Pretoria City Council's policy is to clear squatter camps. It is stated that most of the evicted Africans are foreign Africans and will not be given municipal accommodation.

"Foreign Africans"! These people are Africans; they were born in Africa and have spent their lives there; they are earning their livings, such as they are, in Africa; but they are "foreigners," because they come from the other side of one of the boundary lines drawn on the map by the European powers who carved Africa up among them. When we have a rational society we will be able to forget the crazy artificiality of the divisions imposed on us by the necessities of pri-

vate property. We will discard the bogies of nationality and race, and remember what we really are—one race, the human.

A. W. E.

May Day Rallies

★ SUNDAY MAY 1st. ★

LONDON

HYDE PARK 3-6 p.m.

Speakers: Grant, Read, Young

DENISON HOUSE 7-30 p.m.

Workers of the World Unite

Speakers: J. D'Arcy, C. Wilson

GLASGOW

COSMO CINEMA 7 p.m.

Workers May Day

Speaker: C. May (London)

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MAY 1960

SIXPENCE

SOCIALIST STANDARD



Engraving by William Blake (1784) after the painting by Collings (Radio Times Hulton Picture Library)

MAY DAY

From field and street and prison
Come, for the feast is spread;
Live, for the truth is living;
Wake for the night is dead.

Swinburne

JOURNAL OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

BRANCHES

Visitors are cordially invited to every meeting

- BASILDON.** Thursdays 7.30 p.m., Craylands County Secondary School, Basildon. Correspondence: R. H. Bowie, Cranford, Basil Drive, Laindon, Essex.
- BIRMINGHAM.** Thursdays 8 p.m., "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month. Enquiries to H. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road, Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.
- BLOOMSBURY.** 1st and 3rd Thursdays (May 5 and 19) in month 7.30 p.m. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.
- BRADFORD & DISTRICT.** Correspondence: Peter Hall, 10 Spring Grove Terrace, Leeds 6. Tel.: Bradford 71904 any time.
- CAMBERWELL.** Mondays 8 p.m., 52 Clapham High St., S.W.4. Correspondence: H. Baldwin, 334 South Lambeth Road, Stockwell, S.W.8.
- DARTFORD.** Fridays 8 p.m., Dartford Labour Club, Lowfield St., Dartford. Discussions after business. Correspondence: W. G. Catt, 32 Ickleton Road, Mottingham, S.E.9.
- EALING.** Fridays 8 p.m. Memorial Hall, Windsor Rd., Ealing (nr. Broadway). Correspondence: E. T. Critchfield, 48 Balfour Road, W.13.
- ECCLES.** 2nd Friday (May 13) in month, 7.30 p.m., 5 Gaskell Road, Eccles. Correspondence: F. Lea at above address.
- FULHAM & CHELSEA.** 1st and 3rd Thursdays (May 5 discussion and 19 business) in month 8 p.m. "Kings Head", 4 Fulham High Street, S.W.6. (nr. Putney Bridge). Correspondence: L. Cox, 22 Victoria House, Ebury Bridge Rd. SW1. Tel. SLO 5258.
- GLASGOW (City).** Alternate Wednesdays (May 11 and 25) 8 p.m. Religious Institute Rooms, 200 Buchanan Street, C.1. Correspondence: T. A. Mulheron, 366 Aikenhead Road, Glasgow, S.2.
- GLASGOW (Kelvingrove).** Alternate Mondays (May 9 and 23) 8 p.m., Partick Burgh Halls, Partick. Correspondence: R. Donnelly, 50 Doncaster Street, Glasgow, N.W.
- HACKNEY.** Wednesdays 7.30 p.m., Bethnal Green Town Hall, Room 3 (Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: M. Coster, 79, Walpole Road, E.17.
- ISLINGTON.** Thursdays 8 p.m., Co-op. Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N.7. Lecture or discussion after business. Correspondence: R. E. Carr, SPGB, c/o above address.
- KINGSTON-UPON-THAMES.** Fridays 8 p.m., 19 Spencer Road, East Molesey. Correspondence: Secretary, at above address. Tel.: Mol 6492.
- LEWISHAM.** Mondays 8 p.m., Co-op. Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, S.E.6. Correspondence: P. Hart, 22 Gt. Elms Road, Bromley. Tel.: Rav 7811.
- NOTTINGHAM.** Wednesdays 7.30 p.m., Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street. Correspondence: Secretary, R. Powe, 8 Swains Avenue, Carlton Road.
- PADDINGTON.** Wednesdays 8.30 p.m., "The Olive Branch," Crawford Street, W.1. (corner Homer Street, nr. Marylebone Road). Discussions after business. Correspondence: C. May, 1 Hanover Road, N.W.10.
- SOUTHEND.** 1st Tuesday (May 3) 19, Kingswood Chase, Leigh-on-Sea; 3rd Tuesday (May 17), 17 Cotswold Road, Westcliff-on-Sea; in each month, 7.30 p.m. Correspondence: Dick Jacobs, at above latter address.
- WEST HAM.** 2nd & 4th Thursdays (May 12 & 26), Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E.12. Discussions from 9 p.m. Correspondence: D. Deutz, 80 Bawdsey Ave., Ilford, Essex.
- WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY.** Fridays 7.30 p.m., 146 Inderwick Road, Hornsey, N.8 (41 bus to Tottenham Lane, nr. "Hope & Anchor"). Correspondence: Secretary, at above address.
- WOOLWICH.** 2nd and 4th Fridays (May 13 and 27) in month, 7.30 p.m., Town Social Club, Mason's Hill, S.E.18. Discussions at 8 p.m. Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Mine Gardens, Eltham, S.E.9.

DISCUSSION AND STUDY GROUPS

- BRISTOL.** Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Backfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2. Tel.: 24689.
- CHELtenham.** Enquiries: Ken Smith, 338 Swindon Road.
- DORKING & DISTRICT.** Enquiries: O.C. Iles, "Ashleigh" Townfield Rd., Dorking.
- MANCHESTER.** Enquiries: J. M. Breakay, 2 Dennison Avenue, Manchester 20. Tel.: Did 5709.
- MITCHAM & DISTRICT.** Tuesday (May 17), 8 p.m., "White Hart," Mitcham Cricket Green. Enquiries: T. Lord, 288 Church Road, Mitcham.
- NEAPORT & DISTRICT.** Meetings at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport (Details advertised in *South Wales Argus*). Enquiries: M. Harris, 25 Court Farm Estate, Cwmbran, nr. Newport, Mon.
- OLDHAM.** Wednesdays 7.30 p.m., 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees, at above address. Tel.: Mai 5165.
- REDHILL.** Enquiries: A. A. Kemp, 19 Ashcombe Rd., Merstham, Redhill, Surrey.
- SUSSEX.** Enquiries: W. Craske, "Hazelcroft," Green Road, Wivelsfield Green, Sussex.
- SWANSEA.** Enquiries: V. Brain, 17 Brynawellon, Pencelliog, Llanelly, Glam.

MEETINGS

ISLINGTON LECTURE

- May 12th Thursday 7.45 p.m., Co-op Hall, Seven Sisters Rd. N.7 (near Finsbury Park Tube)
"The Socialist Party" C. Michael

LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS

- Sundays Hyde Park 3.30 pm
East Street, Walworth
May 8th & 22nd (11 am)
May 1st & 15th (noon), May 29th (1 pm)
Beresford Square, Woolwich 8 pm
- Thursdays Tower Hill 12.30-2 pm
Earls Court 8 pm
- Saturdays Rushcroft Road, Brixton 8 pm

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May Day

Speaker: C. May (London)

SOCIALIST
STANDARD

Journal of the SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

MAY 1960 No. 669, VOL. 56

THE WORKING WEEK

In the nineteenth century trade unions struggled for shorter hours and meant just that. In post-war years, when low unemployment should have made it rather less difficult to press claims, campaigns for shorter hours have become disguised efforts to get more overtime pay.

In 1938 when the standard working week for most industries was 48 or 47 hours the inquiry made by the Ministry of Labour into pay and hours in manufacturing industry showed that the men were on average doing 47.7 hours.

In 1946 and 1947 the standard week was generally reduced to 44 and the hours actually worked averaged 46.6. By 1952 they were back again to the 1938 level of 47.7, and in October, 1959, averaged 48.5.

Now a new movement is bringing the standard week below 44. In the past few months agreements have been reached covering four million workers, the new hours being mostly 42, but in 1959 the numbers of workers on overtime was increasing again after an earlier fall. It remains to be seen, when the shorter hours agreements come into effect, whether the earlier experience will repeat itself and 'shorter hours' in fact become longer.

Profits and Wages

The British propertied class came out of the war much worse off than when they went in but in the past few years they have been moving towards their former position. The phrase used by the Chancellor of the Exchequer is that what has happened since 1952 "has about restored the balance."

This arose out of a question put by Mr. Douglas Jay on 22nd March, 1960, about the increase of wage rates and dividends. Mr. Heathcote Amory replied that

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whereas weekly wage rates have increased by about 42 per cent. between 1952 and January, 1960, and by about 3½ per cent. between 1958 and January, 1960, provisional estimates about dividend payments show that dividends paid by companies on ordinary shares in 1959 were about 78 per cent. higher than in 1952 and about 12 per cent. higher than in 1958.

The reply was followed by a further interchange. Mr. Amory admitted to Mr. Jay that these figures show that under the Conservative governments "dividends have been increasing faster than wages," but retorted that between 1938 and 1952 "dividends increased by only 30 per cent. whereas wages increased by 100 per cent."

Then Mr. Amory agreed with a Tory interjection that workers' earnings (he probably meant wage rates) were falling behind the cost of living under the Labour government and have got ahead since.

Figures given in the official *Economic Survey* 1960 show that company dividends on ordinary and preference shares rose by nearly 30 per cent. between 1955 and 1959 from £655 million to £848 million.

MAY DAY

The engraving (by William Blake after the painting by Collins) reproduced on the cover graphically represents May Day in 18th Century London. Prominent in the days celebrations were the little chimney sweeps (in the engraving they are shown holding dust pans—the symbol of their trade), who were annually released on May 1st from the bondage and brutality of their dangerous job.

When my mother died I was very young,
And my father sold me while yet my tongue
Could scarcely cry "weep! weep! weep! weep!"
So your chimneys I sweep, and in soot I sleep.

Blake

News in Review

Sharpeville

RECENT events in South Africa, which began with the shootings at Sharpeville, have brought condemnation of Dr. Verwoerd and the Nationalist Government's policy of apartheid from the press all over the world. The absenteeism of Africans from their work for many days afterwards caused great inconvenience to the Europeans, but, more important, it has cost South African capitalists millions of pounds in lost output. Even the Chairman of the Wool Board, representing an industry dominated by Afrikaans-speaking pro-Nationalist farmers, said the Government must change its policies "... or else."

The opposition (United Party) want to see a complete review of the Government's policy towards the Afrikans as soon as the situation simmers down, and 12 "Elders" of the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa have spoken out against apartheid, saying there is no justification for it in the Scriptures, as Dr. Verwoerd claims. It seems that even sections of this Church are awakening to the fact that changes are taking place, and that apartheid is an anachronism in a developing capitalist country. But the Nationalists' desire to keep their cheap supply of labour mainly in the country districts is, at the moment, still dominant.

Budget Bunkum

BUDGET days have become couched in an atmosphere of somewhat phoney excitement. Television interviews, together with the speculations of City Editors and other commentators, regularly assist in bringing matters to a climax. Workers participate in the Budget as an issue, making their own proposals as to what should be done, and, in general, becoming keyed to expectations of the Chancellor's "miracles." Mostly, they hope for startling reductions in prices. The details of the Budget itself are usually sobering, if not downright depressing; twopence on the price of cigarettes is an example.

The Budget is not a working class issue. Its proposals are irrelevant to workers' interests. This is an employers' world, and the Budget regulates their state finances. Those workers who do

view the Budget with excited enthusiasm are allowing themselves to be diverted from the real issue.

H-Bomb Manoeuvres

RUSSIA's acceptance, with some small reservations, of a new American proposal to ban H-bomb tests, seems to have come as a surprise to the U.S. Government. Previously, each side had been making outlandish proposals to the other, confidently expecting disagreement. This new development leaves us wondering how the U.S. Government is going to wriggle out of it. Already the papers are referring to the Soviet agreement to the U.S. proposal as "the latest Soviet proposal."

With Russia still ahead in technical development of nuclear weapons, one can understand the dilemma of the U.S. Government. They are very reluctant to halt the production and testing of their own nuclear weapons, but they must put up a show of willingness to do so, to maintain their prestige in the eyes of the workers whom they pretend to represent and whose support they need. Krushchev, on the other hand, is in a favourable position for accepting American proposals at this stage. He knows that it is a technical possibility for him to blow us all to Kingdom-come at the drop of a hat. When we find out what Eisenhower and Macmillan decided to oppose at Geneva, Krushchev will earn himself another pat on the back from the working class of Russia by telling them how hard he tried. The working class, whose fate hangs in the balance between the decisions made by their leaders, will probably be taken in once again by these political manoeuvres.

More Disarmament Talks

THE opening of the ten-nation disarmament conference in Geneva on March 15th signifies that this has now been accepted as an issue with little sign or hope of solution. This conference, which has been set up by the United Nations Organisation, is concerned only with how disarmament *could* be effected, if the nations did decide to disarm. But as

this is, to say the least, unlikely, the conference appears as a sop to the more naive among us who believe that in a competitive world you can have hostile nations without armaments.

Other organisations, more moderate in their aims, seek disarmament of nuclear weapons only. C.N.D. is organised for this purpose and claims considerable support for it. We are glad that amid so much indifference a body of opinion emerges that is so moved by the horror of the possible use of these weapons that it is prepared to take a stand against their manufacture. But we are sorry that their repugnance does not extend to other forms of destruction. How, we ask, can their concern for humanity begin and end with nuclear weapons?

What a pity that they do not ask themselves why such weapons are necessary for capitalist countries, and, indeed, ask themselves whether they do not in fact support the vile system that makes them necessary?

You may be sure that the representatives of the conferring nations at Geneva are under no illusion why their countries cannot do the thing that they are ostensibly conferring to bring about. Which country is prepared to surrender its sovereignty to another, or prepared to be unprepared for an attack from another?

Since Mr. Krushchev made his disarmament speech at UNO last November, the West has been at pains to convince the world that they desire this as much and more than Russia. Each side at the conference has its own plan and sees the others as giving its sponsors certain military and tactical advantages. It seems that they are prepared to manoeuvre indefinitely. It has been reported that the U.S. delegation is prepared to stay at least a year!

And after all this, who would be brave enough to forecast any better fate for the Conference than for all its predecessors?

Oil Heaters

OIL heaters have been under attack, and it is estimated that of the ten million in use at least three million fall short of the minimum safety requirements. The conclusion seems to be that the heaters

are safe providing the doors and windows are closed, but could cause serious fires in strong draughts. To overcome this danger M.P.s and newspapers have pressed for a recall of all these heaters with a view to their being modified up to the necessary safety standard.

John Horner, the leader of the Fire Brigades' Union, has demanded that new safety standards be made binding. He went on to say, "All my members know the difference between what is safe and what is dangerous, it is not only their job, it's simple common sense." But would it not be more sensible to ask why houses have draughts in the first place? Is there any lack of the ability to build "draught-proof" homes? A visit to the Ideal Home Exhibition would give the answer. There is a wide choice of architect-designed houses—for those who can afford them. If the criterion for building homes today was the maximum comfort of their future inhabitants, surely the progress made in heating and ventilation would render obsolete most of the makeshift heating appliances—or should we now say "death-traps"—cluttering up so many homes today.

Let's stop making excuses for the many cheap and ill-designed articles which find their way into equally ill-designed homes.

A Victim of the Nightmare

VERWOERD has been for years a leading exponent of Apartheid. He is (or was) an anti-semitic, and was instrumental in preventing the entry of Jewish refugees from Germany before the war. He was a staunch supporter of Nazism, was minister for Native Affairs for eight years before succeeding Strijdom as Prime Minister. He has played a leading part in creating the nightmare that is South African politics today. He has now become a victim of this nightmare, a savage irony indeed.

The Saracens

MILITARY observers in South Africa were puzzled at the purchase of the "Saracens" at a reported cost of £15,000 each. They could not at that time see the usefulness of such a heavy weapon. They have now found out.

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The E.T.U. and the Press

SOCIALISTS take every opportunity of examining and commenting on all the facets of capitalist society, including that much-publicised field, at the moment, anyway, trade unions. We oppose all other political parties, but when dealing with trade unions the fact that the leadership of any particular union has a political bias does not affect our judgment of their activities on the industrial field. As good or as bad as they may be, we recognise that trade unions are the weapon of the working class in the field of industry, and we therefore support the principle of trade unionism, rather than trade unions.

In line with this reasoning, let us take a look at the Electrical Trades Union. Readers will no doubt be aware of the large amount of publicity that has been given to it—charges of malpractice, rigged ballots and Communist Party interference in the running of its affairs. In fact, over the last two years, the working class, and the electricians in particular, have been subjected to a veritable barrage of "information" and "advice" about their leaders. This culminated in the re-election of the General Secretary, Frank Haxell (much to the disgust of the daily and weekly press) with a lower majority than he obtained five years ago.

In the past, members of the Communist Party have been elected to trade union posts and although the press have commented on these, it has not been with the same ferocity and abuse that has been meted out to the E.T.U. There is no doubt that the Communist Party's allegiance to the Soviet Union has been largely responsible for this, but this is not the only reason: another, and, we think, more important view was contained in an editorial printed in *The Guardian* (25/2/60), under the heading "T.U.C. Troubles."

The strike weapon was forged in the last century, when local industry was largely self-sufficient, and a strike was often the only way of bringing grievances to

attention. Today a strike should be a weapon of last resort—it is absurd to make thousands of workpeople in the motor factories lose wages because of a dispute in one firm that happens to make a vital component.

And it offers a solution:

If power to call a strike were delegated to a Motor Industry Committee of the T.U.C., the strike would become the weapon of last resort that it ought to be.

No doubt this would be an admirable solution for the capitalist class. One can imagine the inter-union strife that would go on between the smaller craft unions and the large unskilled unions, especially in the motor industry, before they even agreed that a strike was necessary, with the consequent delay and effect on the workers' wages and conditions. And if the observations of some trade union leaders like Mr. Carron of the A.E.U. are any guide one could visualise an attempt to outlaw strikes with the approval of the T.U.C.

Now, where does the E.T.U. fit into this? First, it must be made known that although they are the seventh largest union in the T.U.C., they have no representative on the T.U.C. General Council. This is the result of the block voting of the two great general unions, the Transport and General Workers and the General and Municipal Workers, ostensibly because of the E.T.U.'s "Communism," but probably also because of their militancy and the fact that they have not always been prepared to play ball with the T.U.C. on a number of vital issues. Notably among these were their criticisms of the wage freeze when the Labour Party was in power after the war.

This, we contend, is the type of activity that should be supported by the T.U.C., not the *Guardian* "Motor Industry Committee," which would basically protect the interest of the motor industry section of the capitalist class.

But this is not all. *The Guardian* Editorial also said:

The real sickness of the E.T.U. is not the conduct of elections but the fact that its President and General Secretary were members of a Party alien to everything that British trade unionism stands for, and if the pitiful rump of electricians who care enough about their union to vote in its elections want to have Com-

The
WESTERN
SOCIALIST

munists as their officers they are entitled to their choice.

No doubt *The Guardian* would like to see officers hand-picked by "appointments," as operates in a number of other unions. No, the proof of the pudding is in the eating. The electrical worker today is one of the highest basic paid workers in industry. On top of this, he is a key worker. No wonder the vast monolith of capitalism, with its interdependence of workers, is worried about the E.T.U. So long as a trade union acts in the interest of its members it is fulfilling its proper function on the industrial field.

Perhaps the last word can be given to

the *Financial Times*, which had this to say about the leadership of the E.T.U. (22/2/60):

The leaders of the E.T.U. are clearly successful. They are able negotiators who drive a hard bargain, and they are not above uttering the occasional threat which everyone knows they will carry out.

In conclusion, we have this to say to trade unionists. Your right to strike has been bitterly fought for in the past: be careful that you protect it in the future, irrespective of the views of any newspaper or trade union leaders.

J. P. E.

Mr. Macmillan's Worries

HAVING floored them at the polls last October, the Tory Party, like any good wrestler, has managed to sit on Labour's head and twist its arms. The Brighouse by-election was a good victory for the Government. Can Mr. Macmillan, then, do nothing wrong? Must he go on winning elections, until everybody else gives up? It must be very irritating for the Labour Party, who can be expected to grasp at every straw that swirls past them in the waters of defeat.

What are these straws? Mr. Amory's Budget revealed some dissension in the Tory ranks, for whilst Labour members were cheering the Chancellor, Lord Hinchinbrooke, Gerald Nabarro and others sat in glum disapproval. More, Mr. Nabarro forced a division in the Commons. This was probably considered to be a bit thick in the clubs. Hinchinbrooke could be excused, perhaps, but that chap Nabarro, with his big moustache and loud voice and his L.C.C. education—really, it is too much. Labour, of course, gloried in it, forgetting the days when their own critics of, for example, Bevin's foreign policy, were so unpopular. These men—Zilliacus, Platts-Mills and the rest—were called not cads, but stabbers-in-the-back, fellow travellers, and so on, and were eventually expelled from the Party. Of course, any government dislikes a split amongst its parliamentary supporters, because unity makes it so much easier to push through the measures necessary to organise British capitalism. That is why Nabarro is considered such a bounder and why Labour's Russophiles were dealt with so sharply.

The tragedy is that workers are often

taken in by these squabbles. The points at issue—whether Britain should have been more friendly to Russia after the war, whether Mr. Amory's Budget should include such high expenditure—are unimportant to workers' lives. The cause of our poverty—the class ownership of wealth—goes on, whether one year we pay twopence less for our beer and the next twopence more for our cigarettes.

Other worries

In any case, Mr. Macmillan has other things to worry about. This month, he must see through the conference of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers and later he must attend the Summit meeting. Although the recent bloodletting in South Africa seems, in human interests, to demand some frank speaking, the statement which will come at the end of the Commonwealth conference will probably be as platitudinous as ever. Doubtless, it will touch on what is called the value of the Commonwealth. In fact, the real value of this organisation lies in the commercial ties between its members. These ties are judged on strictly economic terms. Australia, for example, found in recent years that post war inflation had decreased the value of some of the duty preferences which Great Britain allowed her. Letting the so-called Commonwealth spirit go by the board, she agitated for—and got—some alterations.

Mr. Iain Macleod, the Colonial Secretary, was near the mark when he addressed the recent annual meeting of the Glasgow Unionist Association. The

Guardian's report of his speech said:

Mr. Macleod said that we did not go abroad to govern: we went abroad to trade. It wasn't really true that trade followed the flag. It would be more true to say that the flag followed trade. So, if we were wise we could stay in countries we once ruled as traders, farmers, planters, shippers, business men and engineers. (22/3/60.)

Naturally, Mr. Macleod was trying to put it in the most attractive nutshell he could find, but the fact is there—empires are built upon the capitalist need for trade and expansion, which makes the deaths of the Sharpeville Africans—and of the millions of others who have been killed in defence of their master's empires—especially bitter.

Summit

At long last, having sorted out whether it is better for the premiers to decide what their foreign secretaries shall discuss, or vice versa, the Summit meeting is at hand. It is a depressing fact that these conferences do little to ensure the future peace of the world. Perhaps the most propitious time for a Summit conference was in the war-weary year of 1945. Then, if ever, the politicians could have talked peace. Instead, as usual, they got down to carving up the world between the victors, conceiving the disputes from which a future war could be born. They divided Berlin. They divided Korea. Either of these, during the last twelve years, might have caused a third world war. There is no point in moaning over this. These conferences are arranged so that the various capitalist powers can discuss the issues of economic advantage and military power which are so important to them. Nobody can reasonably expect a peaceful conclusion. Yet workers put their faith in them, hoping that the representative of their government, like a champion boxer, will come out on top.

Which brings us back to Mr. Macmillan. Can he crush the rebellion behind him? Ride out the criticism of his neutrality on Sharpeville, captivate the Summit talks? If he can, and if that boom keeps going, working class support for his Party will probably increase. But this could have a serious effect. In 1950, a survey of the Greenwich constituency pointed to the conclusion that, if electors there had voted in accordance with their opinions (on steel nationalisation, and so on) the Tories, and not—as actually happened—Labour would have won the seat. This conclusion was repeated by a similar survey in 1951 in

North-east Bristol. How ironical—and how galling for Mr. Macmillan—if he was so successful that all his supporters voted Labour!

This is no joke. In this country and all over the world, political parties are grappling for the power to organise the affairs of their capitalist class. It is working class ignorance and indifference that votes for the slick leader and the dazzling promises. Ignorance and indifference give capitalism each new lease of life, to continue its vicious contradictions.

IVAN.

Blue Streak

So the Government has decided to write off its new missile Blue Streak! It was so new that it was out of date before the project got under way. They never even had the chance to fire one.

Of course, it was said to be accurate and reliable. The only thing was, it was so heavy and cumbersome that the Russians could have dropped one of their missiles on every one before we could have counted down to forty minutes, let alone four.

When it first appeared in the Government Estimates they provided £6 million for it. By the time they came to scrap it the cost had risen to £120 million. And hardly anybody said a word. £120 million just like that—on nothing.

Yet only a few short days before we had seen the spectacle of a Chancellor of the Exchequer going into tortuous details to explain why he had been forced to put an extra 2d. tax on cigarettes to prevent the economy of the country going haywire.

Socialists talk about the absurdities of capitalism so much that the new ones, and they come along every day, fail to register. The mind ceases to take them in any more. But we have a suggestion to help you remember at least one. Every time you take a puff at that fag, swearing to give them up because you're only paying for smoke, think of all the smoke that never came out of Blue Streak!

Come to that, looking at it another way, perhaps its just as well.

S. H.

We invite our readers to send letters of comment and criticism. Please keep your letters as short as possible.

The Magazine War

THREE million pounds is spent every day in this country by young unmarried people up to the age of 24. There are plenty of industries—cosmetics, clothing, and so on—which are eager to help them spend this money: the magazine publishers also are after their share.

Young girls, for example, can choose from an increasingly wide range of picture papers with names—*Roxy*, *Valentine* and so on—which indicate that they are very different from the magazines which used to be read by young girls, full as they were of tuck-shops and winning goals scored at hockey. The raw material of these magazines is the weakest of love stories, sometimes—increasingly—involving a famous singer. Some of the strips are said to be inspired by the title of a song hit, although it is usually difficult to discern the connection. Pop singers are prominently featured, giving advice, reviewing records. All of which probably helps to sell the latest products of the recording companies. The characters in the strips have invulnerable morals. Every girl, like a piece in a jig-saw puzzle, must find her boy. Of course, there are obstacles, but love—innocent, chaste and eternal—solves everything in the last picture.

Who publishes this twaddle? On the one hand, Fleetway Publications Ltd. puts out *Roxy*, *Valentine* and *Marilyn*. On the other, Odhams Press Ltd. is responsible for *Mirabelle*, *Date* and *Marty* (named after a rock and roll singer). At the moment, Odhams are setting the pace; *Mirabelle* and *Marty* are glossy, with some of the stories told in photographs: Fleetway are trying to catch up with the saucy (and pricey) *Honey* which, like *Date*, was introduced last month. Of course, the magazines kick off with a free gift—*Marty* gave transfer portraits of current heart-throbs, which could be ironed on to a blouse or headscarf.

The picture romance magazines are a sideshow in the war between the two great publishing houses. Fleetway is the result of the *Daily Mirror*, in December, 1958, paying about £16 million for Amalgamated Press Ltd. (*Womans Weekly*, *The Autocar*, *Marilyn*), which had been owned by the Berry family. Odhams, which was already publishing *Woman*,

John Bull, *Picturegoer*, etc., paid nearly £2 million in April, 1959, to absorb Hulton Press (*Lilliput*, *Housewife*) and a month later bought—for £12.7 million—their bitterest rival, George Newnes Ltd. Newnes had published *Woman's Own*, *Tit Bits* and the *Practical Householder*, etc.; they also owned C. Arthur Pearson, Ltd., the publishers of *Mirabelle*. Odhams is now the largest of the magazine groups with an enormous printing works at Watford.

These two publishing giants are fighting for the fivepennies of the little girl who daydreams at her typewriter or the fac-



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tory machine. Yet it is difficult to find anybody who will admit to both reading and enjoying the picture love books. Here are two opinions:

17 year old: Well, they're all the same. I don't like them, although I do read them. Some of my friends buy them every week and my little sister gets lots of them. I suppose they must like them or perhaps it's the pictures and transfers and things they give away.

18 year old: I just pick them up and read them and then I think, well, I don't know—why did I read that? I mean, it never happens, does it? You get on a 'bus and look at a chap and he looks at you and oooh! Well, it never happens, does it? It's not what you find in them, it's girls about sixteen wishing they could find what's in them.

Nevertheless, Marilyn and Mirabelle, for example, each sell nearly 400,000 copies every week. Put this fact alongside the lament of a London librarian, a few years ago, that "Children of fourteen and fifteen seem to want only books written for five-year-olds. And the older teenagers hardly ever enter the public library at all." It seems a rather depressing picture.

It is pointless to blame the youngsters alone. If a girl has a job like a copy typist or a sweet packer, she often needs about the same mental power to read one of the strip romances as she does to earn her living. And the frustration and boredom of it all means that she is receptive to the magazines which promise, as one does, "Hundreds of wonderful love scenes to make your eyes dreamy!"

There's plenty of people to tell us that teenagers are a social problem, youngsters in difficulty over growing up. But capitalism has few tears to shed for them. For in truth they are a market, to be captured and exploited. No shareholder ever wept over that.

IVAN.

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Finance & Industry

The New Pound Note

SEVERAL newspapers have commented on the continuation in the new pound note of the meaningless words "Bank of England. Promise to pay the Bearer on Demand the sum of one pound," and have wondered why it has not been dropped. Not that it was always meaningless. When gold coins circulated as currency, before 1914, the promise meant, by law, that the holder of a £5 Bank of England note (there were no £1 notes) could demand gold coin for it over the bank counter. And that meant that the purchasing power of the note was always the same as that of the legally defined weight of gold contained in the coins. If the law had remained unchanged and if the promise still had meaning the holder of a pound note could demand from the Bank a sovereign, or gold pound, the present price of which in the gold market is over 60s.

The fall in the value of the note corresponds to the combined effect of the pound having been reduced from 4.86 American dollars to 2.8 dollars, and the gold content of the dollar having been reduced by nearly half in 1934; so that the pound note represents only about a third of the gold it represented in 1914. This has been brought about by the inflation of the currency. Yet all that the Radcliffe Committee on the Monetary System had to say in its report last year was:

The authorities have explained to us in evidence that they do not regard the supply of bank notes as being the only, nor nowadays the only important, supply of money . . . bank notes are in effect the small change of the monetary system. (Para. 348.)

"Small change" is an odd term to apply to an increase in the note issue by about £1,670 million, from the £530 million of 1938 to the present £2,200 million.

And when the Committee added that "the government's function in issuing notes is simply the passive one of ensuring that sufficient notes are available for the practical convenience of the public," they might have recalled that historically every government that has helped to pay its way by the printing press has made the same plea and disowned responsibility for the effect in raising prices.

Cinema Tax

WHEN the Chancellor of the Exchequer announced the abolition of the cinema tax the Cinematograph Exhibitors Association said there was no chance of a reduction in seat prices "because it had always been part of the industry's case in pressing for abolition that it needed the money." (*The Guardian*, 5/4/60.) Apparently the tobacco firms also "need the money" because they are putting up prices by the amount of the extra 2d. duty on 20 cigarettes.

Angry newspaper readers have written many letters of protest at the "unfairness" of it all.

In fact, the eventual outcome will not depend on what the interests think they need, but on what they can get away with; the economists call it "what the market will bear." If competition is keen enough they will all have second thoughts.

The taxation experts who advise the Chancellor of the Exchequer look at it differently. If an industry is doing very well there is room for the government to skim off some of their excess profit. That was the situation in 1916 when entertainment duty was first levied. Now that the industry has fallen on hard times, taxation revenue declines and the point could be reached that it would be hardly worth the expense of collection.

* * *

More about Russian Gold

The Guardian (8/4/60) published an informative article by Mr. Victor Zorza reviewing developments in the Russian gold-mining industry since the change-over from dependence on the compulsory labour of political and other prisoners to the growing introduction of workers attracted by prospects of higher wages and a share in their finds. Some former prisoners have been freed though still confined to the gold mine areas. He quotes estimates by non-Russian "experts" ranging from an output almost equal to South Africa's to a figure about half that amount and expresses the opinion that output must have fallen greatly with the decline of prison labour,



though the introduction of up-to-date industrial techniques of mining may be expected to raise it again. His own view is that Russia may not possess the big gold reserves sometimes assumed to exist, and that the big sales of Russian gold in world markets in recent years may be not far below total output.

Fifty years ago under the Czar's government gold prospectors instead of selling the gold to the government at the fixed price often smuggled it into Japan where they got the much higher world price. Things have not changed. Prospectors are still supposed to sell to the government, but Zorza reproduces from the Russian press accounts of gold mine prospectors of today smuggling the gold out of Siberia to Moscow and making a handsome gain. One miner awaiting trial is alleged to have got away with half a ton, worth over £200,000 in the world market. And just to remind us of the similarities of Capitalism east and west of the Iron Curtain the same issue of *The Guardian* publishes news of one of the series of cases from Pakistan of people (including airline stewards) charged with smuggling gold across the frontier.

* * *

By-Product of Automation

AUTOMATION, because it involves huge expenditure on expensive plant, gives the employers an additional motive for going over to shift working, so that the plant is not lying idle for a large part of the 24 hours. The T.U.C. report *Automation and the Trade Unions* noted this:—"In order to obtain the greatest possible use of expensive plant and equipment, it is not unlikely that the growth of automation will be accompanied by efforts to extend shift working."

For many years trade unions tried to resist shift and night work and nobody can pretend that from the workers' standpoint it is not a worsening of conditions. The March issue of the T.U.C. monthly, *Labour*, summarises a

report on the problems that arise when shift work is introduced:

Domestic life of the family is suddenly upset; feeding and sleeping arrangements are disturbed and leisure time curtailed. The strain on a wife in such circumstances is "considerable," says the report, particularly if a shift rota system involves a succession of changes.

Along with the difficulty of the workers trying to sleep in the daytime in a noisy home, there is the problem of getting meals at awkward hours and the problem of finding transport to and from work.

One of the attractions of automation noted by the government booklet *Automation in Perspective* is that "automation lowers cost and can help to keep British goods competitive in price with those of other countries"—and the other countries will of course be doing the same in order to keep competitive with British prices. As far as the extension of shift working is concerned it introduces a new concept of capitalist society, living worse to keep down with the foreign Joneses.

H.

50 Years Ago

THE GERMAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY

THE Social Democratic Party in Germany occupies a similar position to the party similarly named here. Its programme (the Erfurter Programme) consists of the theoretical part, based on the teachings of Marx—the materialist conception of history, the surplus value theory and the class struggle—and the practical, consisting of reforms and palliatives; and we allege that the whole existence of the German S.D.P. has been spent in the advocacy of those reforms, to the detriment of Socialist propaganda. In the early days of our Party we held the erroneous view . . . that the German workers must obtain certain reforms because the revolution from feudalism to Capitalism was not complete. But we found that conditions there make a Socialist Party quite as possible as here.

From the
SOCIALIST STANDARD, May, 1910.

The German Social Democratic Party, reformed after the collapse of the Hitler regime, recently adopted a new programme from which the theoretical link with Marxism and also the commitment to wholesale nationalisation has been dropped.



Socialist Party OF GREAT BRITAIN

OBJECT

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:
1) That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

2) That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

3) That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

4) That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

5) That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

6) That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

7) That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

8) The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be brought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desire enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

Advertising

Schlock, Payola and Gyp Sellers

We live in stirring times. Rockets landing on the moon, bigger and more powerful weapons to ensure peace, and scientifically minded and humane world leaders prepared to use these weapons if peace is no longer possible. Capitalist civilisation in the mid-twentieth century has certainly produced a unique morality and given us poor ignorant workers a set of social values very difficult to live down to.

Consider the advertising profession. Is it not one of the most typical of capitalism's great institutions, and also one of the most necessary processes between the raw material and the commodity we consume? If there was no advertising, how would we know that our very life depended on our using pink toothpaste? In fact, without advertising, how would we know what to eat, drink, wear, inject,

smoke, etc.? We would be completely lost.

But now, of course, we have Commercial Television, and can therefore learn all these vital facts while sitting in a state of complete mental relaxation (or even stupor) in a darkened room before the Magic Screen. It puzzles us considerably how our forefathers existed without television, and yet they seemed to bumble along somehow.

Recent investigations show, however, that television is nowadays assuming its rightful place in the home. A survey of 200 homes in a town in Northern England revealed that three homes had bathtubs, six had hot water, four had their own toilets, but 125 had television sets!

Time magazine of 9/11/59 quotes Mr. Walter Lippmann (a famous American critic) as saying that the U.S. *laissez-faire* policy has turned TV into "the creature, the servant, and indeed the prostitute, of merchandising."

Mr. Lippmann's strong words were uttered following disclosures that certain American TV quiz programmes were "fixed." As is only right and proper when a National God is in danger, a minister of religion (and also a participant in the quiz shows) girded his loins and defended his God (*Time*, 16/11/59). "Most of us have a great deal of larceny in us," drawled the Rev. Charles ("Story") Jackson of Tullahoma, Tenn. "The fact that I am an ordained minister does not make me a saint."

If a licensed representative of the Almighty can fall into temptation, is it any wonder that lesser mortals (including children) were persuaded to collaborate in the deceptions of the quiz shows? The same edition of *Time* reports that "... of 150 quiz witnesses who appeared before the New York County grand jury and swore before God (or on their affirmations) to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, no less than 100, said District Attorney Frank Hogan, had lied. ..." Obviously these upright, honest, American citizens had been well trained by their contact with the elevating atmosphere of Commercial Television, which in turn draws inspiration from the worthy sponsors of its programmes.

A former advertising chief of one firm involved in the "fixed quiz show" saga

neatly summed up the whole subject when he thought that producers "were living between the mixed values of show business and advertising, and moral values were lost sight of" (*Time*, same issue).

"Moral values" notwithstanding, it is plain that, under the beneficent influence of this great "free enterprise" system of ours, the marketer of commodity A must employ all means (fair or foul) to beat the marketer of commodity B to the lion's share of the market. One of the means he employs is to purchase the talents, the "integrity," the showing time, etc., of TV networks, which, in turn employ all means (fair or foul) to attract audiences for their programmes.

These recent disclosures of some of the mystical practices and rituals of commercial television have been said to "tarnish" that great institution's "Image." It is all rather as if someone had testified that the Virgin Mary was not really a virgin at all, and that the "miracle cures" at Lourdes were faked.

Payola

"Everybody has become so suspicious that if you say 'Oh, my God!' on television, people think you're being paid off by the Holy Father." (Famous actor quoted in *Time*, 23/9/59.) Now actors, like other workers, must live. They must pay their agents and their psychiatrists, pay off their former wives, eat, etc. And, to help make both ends meet, it is only natural for them to look out for some "perks"—such as the rewards they get for mentioning brand names of commodities (or even making indirect references to such commodities) on television programmes. For instance, one famous comedian said, "Look, Mom, no cavities!" (the slogan of a certain brand of toothpaste) on a TV show, and another comedian greeted a guest star with, "What's this you're wearing—My Sin?" This "plug" was reported to have resulted in "payola" to the tune of \$1,000.

If it were not for those gentlemen (called "disk jockeys") who play gramophone records on radio and television, how many of us would ever hear or remember the folk music of our day which emanates from such inspired

sources as Archer Street in London? Fortunately for us, these wise men are quick to spot the very best records and then see to it that we hear them over the air at frequent intervals. For the record industry is a thriving one, and record companies will pay a lot of money to sell us excellent records of, say, the amatory aspirations of pre-pubertal boys.

No doubt our readers will by now appreciate that disk-jockeys only tend to "ride" (i.e., "plug") these winning records if they are offered some inducement. Some may consider that the mere playing of these musical treasures would be reward enough, but we regret to state that many disk-jockeys in America have been discovered to have accepted monetary rewards or expensive presents. Some of the more influential disk jockeys have financial interests in record companies and even singers; this may possibly also influence their choice of records.

The latest development in this interesting chapter of honesty and "morality" in American show-business is the emergence of a specialised type of "payola"—to wit, "girl payola." American record companies were recently reported to have shipped two aircraft loads of girls to "entertain" disk-jockeys attending a conference in Miami; doubtless the record companies hoped that, inspired by the love of a good woman, a disk-jockey would oblige by playing (repeatedly) the "right" record on his show after the tiring conference was over. Could business ethics and "morality" be better exemplified?

Despite McCarthy-like government investigations most people involved in the "music business" in America would prefer to retain the *status quo*, "payola" and all. As *Time* reports: "The last thing most people in this industry want is to clean it up," admitted one musician, "It's too lucrative for too many people."

Gyping the Sucker

Thanks to the benign influence of modern commercial television, the fairground quack, the huckster, and the pavement confidence-trickster, have been incorporated in those intellectual offerings of the Silver Screen—the "commercials." American TV audiences have been so saturated with their high-pressure brand of "commercials" that a special device (called a "blab-off" switch), by which the exhortations of the peddler of a commodity may be summarily silenced, is in great demand. The sale of these "blab-off" switches is much deprecated by the sponsors.

But we digress. Despite apparent differences, the fairground huckster and the TV "commercial" are fundamentally similar: there must be, in both cases, the capitalist duality of seller and buyer. As the chairman of the American Federal Trade Commission investigating alleged dishonesty in advertising methods stated (*Time*, 4/1/60): "In the blunt language of the street... the gyp seller depends on the sucker buyer and can't exist without him." Thus the "gyp seller" and the "sucker buyer" take their place alongside other classical dualities—Holmes and Watson, Don Quixote and Sancho Panza, and capitalist and worker.

Here are some of the interesting little deceptions practised by American TV "commercials":

Sticking food particles to a plate before putting it in a dishpan to demonstrate the inferiority of a competitor's detergent.

Lacing breakfast cereal with ice cream so that child models will smile with delight at being served the advertiser's particular brand.

Saturating a sponge with a powerful bleach to prove how one cleanser leaves a stained sink sparkling white, while competing brands leave black smudges.

Filling a coffee pot with hot wine because real coffee tends to photograph like crankcase sludge.

Icing a bake-it-yourself cake with shaving cream because real icing melts under hot floodlights.

(*Time*, 4/1/60.)

Even responsible executives in the American advertising hierarchy feel that deception in advertising methods would be difficult to eradicate. Said one (*Time*, 4/1/60): "Dishonest advertising is here. It is real. And whatever the percentage, the amount is large and is not diminishing." The same outspoken executive went on to ask: "How can four different cigarettes all be lowest in nicotine, lowest in tars; how can three different headache remedies all work fastest?" He has us there.

One of the most important principles of our private property society is "He who pays the piper calls the tune." Members or representatives of the owning class pay large sums of money in attempts to capture the market from their rivals, and are not greatly concerned about the methods employed. In other words, the end justifies the means; a philosophy which must inevitably lead to trickery, dishonesty and cynicism.

Those who support the private property system would no doubt argue that advertising, "commercial" TV, "show

business" (in short, the topics we have discussed here) are examples of "freedom," "democracy," and "incentive"—alleged hallmarks of capitalism.

Socialists would rather argue that capitalism, with its inexorable drive for expanding markets and more profits, is forced to foster cheating, sham values, artificial desires, and inequality (both political and economic), in its blind drive to its goal—the sale of the commodity.

This thumb-nail sketch of the kind of world capitalism has made, with its own peculiarly twisted type of "morality," may help to show why ordinary workers, who would normally never dream of cheating at a card game with friends, are drawn into the sordid deceptions of "phony" quiz shows. It is of particular interest to Socialists because the deceptions and trickery of the advertising business are only reflections of much larger deceptions—those of the apologists, politicians, and spokesmen of capitalism. Perhaps by aiming our Socialist dart at one target, we may hit both.

M. L.

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The Tragedy of South Africa

Of the total population of South Africa (estimated in 1958 at a little over 14½ millions) the Africans numbered about 9½ millions, the Europeans 3 millions, the Coloureds almost 1½ millions, and the Asiatics (mainly Indians) something like half-a-million. Such ingredients are more than enough to make a rare "devils brew" of race prejudice and discrimination.

The Whites are, of course, only a minority of the population and the whole coercive power of the State, whether expressed in discriminatory laws or in actual armed repression, is directed to preserve the supremacy of this minority. The White man in South Africa is not only afraid of the economic competition of the African: he is even more afraid that one day, perhaps, he will be thrown out of the country altogether.

In South Africa, segregation is the rule. Apart from the segregation which exists in the towns in the form of "Black Belts," to which the Africans are severely confined under penalty of the law, millions of Africans are kept on the rural Reserves where they derive a miserable living from the land, or are exploited as

agricultural labourers by the White farmers. What most of the Whites would really like, in their heart of hearts, would be to see the Africans kept out of the way altogether on Reserves. But there is one overriding factor which prevents this—the need of South African industry for more and more African labour-power.

This labour power is in constant demand, particularly in the gold and diamond mines which are the foundation of the country's industrial economy. In spite of all the White man's dreams of complete segregation, large numbers of African workers are constantly on the move between the towns and the Reserves and the White farms. Even before the War this demand for cheap labour-power was becoming so acute that considerable numbers of African workers were recruited from neighbouring territories, including Portuguese East Africa. In such ways does economic necessity triumph over racial discrimination and make nonsense of the White man's talk about segregation.

Almost all these African workers are unskilled for the White workers monopolise the skilled jobs and jealously safeguard their privileges. As in the United States, so bad did economic conditions become in South Africa before the War that the Whites even began to infringe upon many of the so-called African occupations, but during the War things changed. Industry developed rapidly and the demand for skilled workers became acute, to such an extent that the White Trade Unions and the employers agreed that certain of the semi-skilled trades should be handed over to the Africans.

Africans are, nevertheless, precluded from membership of the White Unions and have been compelled to form their own. These Unions are not registered and are technically illegal organisations. Every difficulty is put in their way, their bargaining power is small, and it is not surprising that as a result the average wages of White workers far exceed those earned by Africans. On the Reserves the position is even worse, for although the Africans own their own land and are nominally independent, the White employers rely on their abject poverty, reinforced by specially-aimed taxes, to

force them off the Reserves and into industry. With this poverty, whether on the Reserves or in the towns, are to be found all the usual accompaniments—bad housing (bad is an understatement) and all that goes with it, overcrowding, lack of sanitation, disease and malnutrition, and a heavy mortality rate. Over all hang the humiliations, degradations, and cruelties of the Pass Laws.

So far as the Coloured people are concerned their economic conditions are little better than those of the Africans, and in the country their position is perhaps worse. They face particularly strong economic competition from the Africans and have also to compete against the lower-paid White worker. In general, their conditions economically have tended to become worse instead of better, and even the few privileges they once enjoyed in other ways—such as their voting rights in the Cape Province—have recently been taken away. In the other Provinces, of course, they never had any such rights to be taken from them.

The Asiatic part of the population are mainly the descendants of Indians originally brought into South Africa to work on the sugar plantations of Natal. Many have since found their way into other occupations, particularly as traders and independent farmers.

Asians

Unlike the Natives, they have shown a marked aptitude for business, have actively competed with the Europeans, and as a result have managed to acquire a considerable amount of land and property. Naturally, this has not pleased the European capitalists, and, to put a stop to this development, the Natal Housing Authority can now step in and purchase property in European areas rather than allow it to fall into the hands of non-Europeans (which means Indians).

We are not interested in such misfortunes, whether they be of European or Indian capitalists, but this does provide an excellent example of the manner in which race arguments are used purely and simply to bolster up economic interests. The Europeans in South Africa justify their treatment of the African on

the grounds that he is backward, uncivilised, and intellectually incapable of reaching the same status of the White man. When it comes to dealing with the Indian, however, who can play the Europeans at their own game and make a success of it this argument is conveniently forgotten. They drop all pretence at theoretical justification, they cease to talk about White superiority, and proceed to have recourse to the law, exposing at the same time the fallacy and expediency of their racial arguments.

Race Prejudice

As far as the White population is concerned, most of their discrimination, however, is directed against the African. The White worker fears for his job and his privileged position, the White capitalist fears for his profits, and both together fear for their place in the country itself. In so far as the Indian encroaches upon their interests, either as capitalist or as wage-worker, to that extent they are also hostile towards him.

Towards the Coloured population the attitude is rather different. Although they do to a considerable extent discriminate against the Coloured group, the attitude of the Whites, at least until recently, is not nearly so hostile towards them as it is towards the two other

groups, the Africans and Asiatics. In some industries, Coloured workers are allowed to join the White Trade Unions, and the general economic level of these particular workers is correspondingly higher than most of the others of their group. Segregation is not so marked against them as it is with Africans and Indians. Although, as is natural with all groups against which there is hostility, they tend to keep together, many of them do live in "White areas" without arousing violent antagonism.

The attitude of the Coloured people towards other groups is varied. Some of them are apathetic about the whole question: others consider themselves superior to the Africans and Indians. There are some who wish to be independent of the Whites as well, from whom they once expected assistance and to whom they used to look for leadership and support. Recent events have no doubt tended to harden this attitude in them.

As for the Indians, discrimination against them has always been severe, and their encroachments upon the preserves of the Whites are jealously watched. The Indians, in turn, have their own prejudices. Although more readily prepared to do business with the Africans than the Whites are, the Indians differ little in their prejudice towards them.

And what of the Africans themselves.

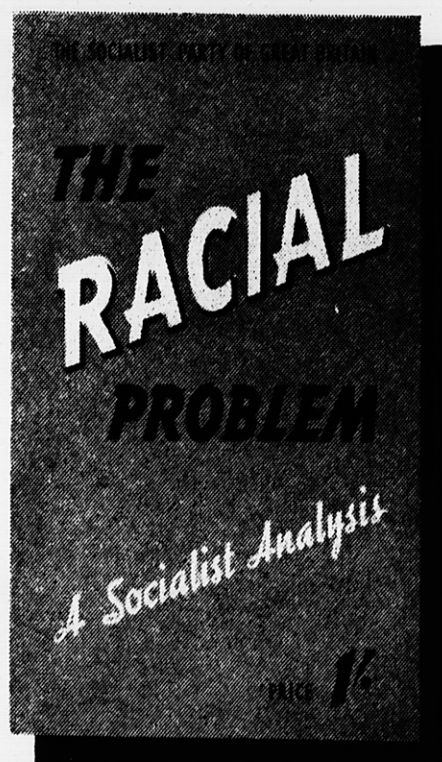
the great oppressed majority? A few years ago, one would still have thought them an inert mass, too crushed by their grinding poverty and their struggle to keep alive to do anything other than accept everything as inevitable. But despite all the obstacles put in their way, they have not been slow to learn. Their tribal life has been broken up, they have been forced by one means or another into industry, they have become an essential part of South African capitalism, and they are ready for change.

What form will this change take? Will the African obtain for himself the elementary rights which other workers have had to struggle for in the past? Or will he be seized by that virulent nationalism which has already seized other parts of the continent and be carried on to other extreme paths? What of the Whites? Are they prepared to continue driving along a road the end of which can only be bloody violence and destruction? Nobody knows.

But two things we do know. One, that no group can permanently hold down another more numerous than itself. And the other, that the interests of all the workers of South Africa—African, White, Asiatic, and Coloured—are one. Until they realise that there will be no end to race-prejudice in South Africa.

S. H.

Read



Marxism and Darwinism

A Man's Eye View of Evolution

It is no longer a moot question or a matter of opinion whether the theory of organic evolution (Darwinism) is valid or not. The science editor of *Saturday Review*, John Lear, in a special Darwin issue (14/11/59) says:

... the irrefutable evidence (proves) that living things—from invisible microbes to man—slowly acquired their present dimensions, properties and functions (including consciousness) under such analyzable natural law as variations and natural selection.

This general acceptance of Darwin's epoch-making contribution underlies the widespread celebration of the 100th anniversary of the publication of the *Origin of Species*. There is hardly a popular journal that has not had a special issue devoted to Darwinism.

It is especially significant that Darwinism has uprooted religious supersti-

tions. In spite of the appearances of religious growth and persistence, hardly any one is any longer religious in his own daily spheres of activities. Apologists usually qualify their defence of religion with statements that transform their "convictions" into statements of ethics and morals. A case in point is no less an authority than Samuel Miller, Dean of the Harvard Divinity School, who wrote in a featured article, devoted to Darwinism, in the *Saturday Review* (14/11/59):

The whole imaginative structure of Christian truth, elaborated in myth and symbol, for the most part has crumbled under the impact of the last three centuries of revolutionary thought, scientific methods, and historical studies. The vision of reality articulated in this great Biblical formula has evaporated and no longer serves as the frame of reference for elucidating the mysteries of being human. ... We have reached a

new maturity of freedom from superstition and credulity.

And John Lear (referred to above) goes a step further:

Our now misplaced supernaturalism, slightly mitigated, but persisting into the new Age of Science, has left our social and political leadership unprepared to define accurately our present problems. We find the key for the understanding

of biological evolution in Darwinism, which deals with the evolution of biological organs in particular, the evolution of animal organs transmitted through heredity. Marxism may be summarized as the study of the social evolution of human tools (the deliberate planning and making of things to be used by man) as a substitute for animal organs. Progress of man may be seen in his ever-increasing mastery over nature, traced through the

evolution of his material conditions of existence.

Both Darwinism and Marxism have the same purpose of explaining the processes enabling living beings to ensure their food and life.

Darwinism shows why those animals best adapted survive in the struggle for life and transplant their more suitable qualities on to their progeny. What is selected and transplanted is their equipment—their organs. These organs are part of the body and are subject to biological laws of heredity and variation.

Marxism, in its examination of man's evolution, is the study of tools, outside the body. Man's struggle for existence is carried on with tools. Its evolution is a social phenomenon and not a biological one. Man is not limited by biological restrictions as is the rest of the animal kingdom. Man is not limited to specific modes of life or natural environments. With the aid of tools he adapts himself to varying climates and changing conditions. Whilst his bodily equipment essentially has not changed for tens of thousands of years, his "artificial organs" (tools) have enabled him to adapt to constant and rapid changes. (It might be said that man, with his knowledge of biological laws, is bringing to a close the biological evolution of the previous billions of years. Truly, man is on the verge of becoming master over his own destiny.)

Materialism

The reason why the Marxists of 1859 were among the very first to hail Darwinism was the realization of a landmark in corroborating the validity of the materialist attitude that there are

physical-material explanations for all phenomena and that everything is interrelated and in a constant process of motion and change. Modern science is becoming aware that there is neither dualism (the concept of the universe being two-fold, the spirit world and the material world) nor design in nature and that it is monist (the concept that all existence is an interrelated whole with no independent parts).

Coupled together, Darwinism and Marxism were powerful blows against superstition and led the way to the realization of the evolution of existence. Who would deny, today, that there was a time when there were no men or even living organism? Anyone aware of geological truths would not dispute that there was a time without the existence of the earth. Less understood is that there was a time without astronomy and without mass (matter in the form of particles). What more appropriate occasion to point out the spreading recognition of evolutionary processes in all phases of infinite existence than in these comments dealing with Darwinism and Marxism.

We next proceed to the ambitious task of correlating the multitude of scientific explorations and contributions into a unified outlook on science, as an interrelated whole, establishing the patterns of evolutionary processes that bring us up to the present.

Let us summarize a man's eye view of the evolution of existence in light of today's science. It is a summary of processes and not mechanisms. It is concerned with generalizations and not specific details. Both Darwinism and Marxism are on sound grounds in their generalizations of processes, yet history may and does reveal errors in their specific details and applications.

All existence may be classified into five major stages: Matter, Astronomy, Geology, Biology and Sociology.

By its very nature, existence is never at rest, it is in a constant process of motion resulting in a parade of changes. The further one goes back, the simpler, more widespread and longer-enduring are the stages. In the evolutionary process, each succeeding progression emerging out of its antecedents becomes more complex and less widespread. Each later stage is but a particular phase of the preceding larger general stage of evolution.

The all-encompassing generalization of all existence is matter, from which rose astronomy. Eventually, geology—the child of astronomy—appeared on the scene, one of its consequences being biology, from which sprang sociology.

The above description of motion and change also applies within the development of each of these great generalized stages of existence, as well.

In a word, we are tracing, here, the evolution of existence from its simpler and earlier form as energy to its latest and most complex form as capitalism.

All existence consists of matter. Matter is not confined to mass, however (things that are tangible and occupy space). Energy is also matter. The very strides in atomic physics are the visible demonstration that both energy and mass are forms of matter—are material. The famous Einstein formula (Energy equals mass times the square of the speed of light) speeded up the actual conversion by man of tangible mass into intangible energy (NOT the release of energy already stored up in mass, such as the heat energy in coal). Likewise, intangible energy can be converted to mass.

The earliest and most abundant phenomenon of existence that we are aware of is energy. (1)

Over countless eons of time, eventually, a single positively-charged proton became the nucleus around which a single, negatively-charged electron revolved. This object was both a form of energy and a form of mass. It is hydrogen, the simplest and the most plentiful (over 99 per cent.) of all the mass in existence.

Evolution can be visualized in the atomic scale which lists elements by the quantities of electrons in their atoms. Elements start with hydrogen (one elec-

(1) We have no information about evolution within energy but we do know that the properties of energy are related to their frequencies.



SCHOOLS TO-DAY

What's happening to the Schools?

The Socialist Party's recent pamphlet explains the basic reasons for the changes in modern education

6d.



From the Branches

Socialist Standard

(iron), the first element, then helium (two electrons), all the way up to uranium and the man-made elements.

Eventually, elements combined into molecules. The earliest molecules were gasses, later liquids and the highest form of mass is solids; each form of mass is distinguished from the other by the speed and distance of their electrons in their orbits and also by their organization within the molecule.

The evolution of matter is from its simplest form as energy to its most complex form as solids.

The embryo of astronomy was nurtured in the evolution of energy into mass. Not until the particle, hydrogen atom, appeared did space come into existence. Space is a relationship of mass, it has no meaning, otherwise.

Evolution in astronomy is traced by densities; the earlier stages being less dense and the higher stages being relatively dense. The most rarified aspect of astronomy is intergalactic space. The space between galaxies constitutes over 99 per cent. of all astronomical existence and illustrates how relatively insignificant is the amount of mass in the cosmos. The density of intergalactic space is estimated to be one hydrogen atom per cubic meter. Man has been unable to even come close to this sort of a vacuum in the laboratory. The next higher stage in astronomy is interstellar space, which consists of one hydrogen atom per cubic centimeter. Then arose planetary nebulae with thousands of hydrogen atoms per cubic centimeter and which is quite a vacuum on its own merits. The next higher development in astronomy is stellar atmosphere with its millions of hydrogen atoms per cubic centimeter. Finally, came the stars and, in particular, our own star, the sun.

Our vast solar system, with its fantastic distances, is like a small pebble near the outer edge of the Milky Way, our own galaxy. Our sun is but one of billions of suns in the Milky Way. All these stars, put together, are dwarfed into a tiny fragment of the area of our galaxy. Then, there are groups of galaxies forming an astronomical system known as a cluster. Sometimes, these clusters are called universes (the term, "universe" is also used to refer to both a galaxy and the cosmos). There are billions of clusters each with billions of galaxies. And all, clusters and galaxies, revolve around a centre and have orbits. The term, cosmos, usually refers to the entirety of astronomical phenomena.

RAB.

(To be concluded next month)

Bristol

The Party platform will be on Durdham Downs every Sunday during the summer. First meeting, Sunday, May 1st. Comrades and sympathisers in the district are asked to support these meetings. The Downs are ideal for outdoor meetings and as proved in the past—very successful meetings have been held.

P. H.

The Passing Show

(continued from page 80)

Outdoor Propaganda commenced in April and should be in full swing by May and the remainder of the summer. Details of meeting spots are given on the meetings page and Comrades are urged to note the times and places and support all the meetings at all times.

Islington

Islington Branch is holding a lecture—The Socialist Party—on Thursday, May 12th, at 7.45 p.m. Comrade C. Michael is the speaker and the meeting place, Co-op. Hall, 129, Seven Sisters Road, N.7 (near Finsbury Park Tube Station).

North West Kent

Will any readers in the Bexleyheath, Crayford, Dartford, Erith, Gravesend and Welling areas of North West Kent interested in the formation of a discussion group, communicate with H. J. Wilson, 7 Cyril Road, Bexleyheath, Kent (phone Bexleyheath 1950).

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Socialist Party of New Zealand

P.O. Box 62 Petone

World Socialist Party of the United States

11 Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston 9, Mass.

The Passing Show

South African Revolution

THE recent events in South Africa have made starkly clear the real nature of the conflict there. The entire capitalist world, Governments and press, on both sides of the Iron Curtain, has denounced the measures taken by the present ruling class in South Africa to bolster its position. The Nationalist newspaper *Die Burger*, the organ of the ruling landowners and farmers, admitted that staid Conservative British papers like *The Times* and the *Daily Telegraph* had been "practically hysterical in their vehemence." *The Times*, indeed, went so far as to say in its leading article of April 6th, that it was sixteen days "since the revolution began in South Africa."

After the Sharpeville massacre it was announced that the pass laws would not be enforced for the time being. This was an astonishing concession for the ruling landowners' class to make to the capitalists. It showed how much the landowners had been shaken, for the pass laws are the cornerstone of the society built by the landed interests. The aim of these laws is to keep Africans in the country, where they must work on the white men's farms in order to live, and to prevent them coming to the towns, where they could obtain higher pay in the capitalists' factories. If despite the pass laws they come to the towns, they are arrested—in numbers running to hundreds of thousands each year—and sent back in convict gangs to labour on the farms for a mere pittance. The news that the pass laws had been suspended was a tonic to the South African capitalist class: the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, which had slumped at the

news from Sharpeville, recovered some of its losses. Then came the announcement that the pass laws would be reimposed: again share prices fell. And the South African Federated Chamber of Industries was reported to be seeking a meeting with Dr. Verwoerd to urge some modification in his policies.

The question now in South Africa is this: how long will the growing capitalist class allow the landed interests to continue ruling the country?

Calvinism

CHRISTIANS are sometimes harder on their fellow-Christians than many materialists would be. For example, when on April 8th the House of Commons was discussing the open police brutality against Africans in the streets of South African cities, Sir Godfrey Nicholson (the Conservative member for Farnham) said the situation was partly due to the Afrikaners' "background of a rigid Calvinistic creed." This is a case of putting the cart before the horse. Many other peoples in the world share the Afrikaners' Calvinism, but not being in the same economic position, have no sympathy with the South African landowners' apartheid. The Afrikaners' "Dutch Reformed Church" originated in Holland, whose inhabitants are also closely related to the Afrikaners. But far from sharing the Afrikaners' beliefs, the Dutch leaders go out of their way to criticise apartheid. The Calvinist Scots Presbyterian Church has long attacked the white farmers' policies in both South Africa and the Rhodesian Federation. No, religious beliefs do not determine political views. Both of them are, in the long run, expressions of the economic and material position in which a particular class finds itself.

Sailing before the wind

THE *Readers' Digest*, which claims a world circulation of over twenty million copies, is one of the most accurate indicators of the current policies of the American ruling class. During the war it was full of articles showing how bestial the Germans and—even more—the

Japanese were. As soon as the war was over, and it became clear that in the next war the United States' enemy might well be Russia, with West Germany and Japan lining up as America's allies, the content of the articles shifted abruptly. Now it was the bestiality of the Russians which was written about; references to Germany and Japan became friendly. The editors even went so far as to print articles about the heroic deeds of German and Japanese soldiers in the Second World War.

Rome

BUT besides Germany and Japan, the United States also fixed on the Catholic Church as a useful ally against Russia. References in the *Readers' Digest* to Roman Catholicism therefore became friendly. The fact that the Catholic Church is hand in glove with Fascism in Franco Spain, and supports at least one South American state (Colombia) where Protestants are harried mercilessly, was ignored. In the March, 1960, issue there is an article on "Good Pope John," in which the writer talks about the "warm humanity, irrepressible humour and amiable wisdom" of the Pope with all the starry-eyed enthusiasm of a twelve-year-old girl listening to Cliff Richard. Still, that's not surprising. If America's alleged "defence of democracy" can be stretched to include military and other assistance to the Fascist Franco, it can't be too much of a strain to take in Franco's friend as well.

The nearly royal family

THE news (in the *Daily Express*, 31/3/60) that at the forthcoming royal wedding there may be present not only Mr. Armstrong-Jones' father and mother, but also his mother's present husband, his father's present wife, and his father's other previous wife—the five of them all coming roughly under the heading of "the bridegroom's parents"—reminds

(continued on page 79)

For a socialist analysis
of war read

**SOCIALIST PARTY
AND WAR**

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JUNE 1960

SIXPENCE

SOCIALIST STANDARD



Hyde Park, May Day 1960

THIS FEARSOME WORLD

40 MILLION REFUGEES

THE FALLING RATE OF PROFIT

NEWS IN REVIEW

That Wedding Syngman Rhee Caryl Chessman

JOURNAL OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

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- BIRMINGHAM.** Thursdays 8 p.m., "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month. Enquiries to H. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road, Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.
- BLOOMSBURY.** 1st and 3rd Thursdays (June 2 and 16) in month 7.30 p.m. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.
- BRADFORD & DISTRICT.** Correspondence: Peter Hall, 10 Spring Grove Terrace, Leeds 6. Tel.: Bradford 71904 any time.
- CAMBERWELL.** Mondays 8 p.m., 52 Clapham High St., S.W.4. Correspondence: H. Baldwin, 334 South Lambeth Road, Stockwell, S.W.8.
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- ECCLES.** 2nd Friday (June 11) in month, 7.30 p.m.; 5 Gaskell Road, Eccles. Correspondence: F. Lea at above address.
- FULHAM & CHELSEA.** 1st and 3rd Thursdays (June 2 discussion and 16 business) in month 8 p.m. "Kings Head", 4 Fulham High Street, S.W.6. (nr. Putney Bridge). Correspondence: L. Cox, 22 Victoria House, Ebury Bridge Rd. SW1. Tel. SLO 5258.
- GLASGOW (City).** Alternate Wednesdays (June 8 and 22) 8 p.m. Religious Institute Rooms, 200 Buchanan Street, C.1. Correspondence: T. A. Mulheron, 366 Aikenhead Road, Glasgow, S.2.
- GLASGOW (Kelvingrove).** Alternate Mondays (June 6 and 20) 8 p.m., Partick Burgh Halls, Partick. Correspondence: R. Donnelly, 50 Doncaster Street, Glasgow, N.W.
- HACKNEY.** Wednesdays 7.30 p.m., Bethnal Green Town Hall, Room 3 (Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: M. Coster, 79, Walpole Road, E.17.
- ISLINGTON.** Thursdays 8 p.m., Co-op. Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N.7. Lecture or discussion after business. Correspondence: R. E. Carr, SPGB, c/o above address.
- KINGSTON-upon-THAMES.** Fridays 8 p.m., 19 Spencer Road, East Molesey. Correspondence: Secretary, at above address. Tel.: Mol 6492.
- LEWISHAM.** Mondays 8 p.m., Co-op. Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, S.E.6. Correspondence: P. Hart, 22 Gt. Elms Road, Bromley. Tel.: Rav 7811.
- NOTTINGHAM.** Wednesdays 7.30 p.m., Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street. Correspondence: Secretary, R. Powe, 8 Swains Avenue, Carlton Road.
- PADDINGTON.** Wednesdays 8.30 p.m., "The Olive Branch," Crawford Street, W.1. (corner Homer Street, nr. Marylebone Road). Discussions after business. Correspondence: C. May, 1 Hanover Road, N.W.10.
- SOUTHEND.** 1st Tuesday (June 7) 19, Kingswood Chase, Leigh-on-Sea; 3rd Tuesday (June 21), 17 Cotswold Road, Westcliff-on-Sea; in each month, 7.30 p.m. Correspondence: Dick Jacobs, at above latter address.
- WEST HAM.** 2nd & 4th Thursdays (June 9 & 23), Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E.12. Discussions from 9 p.m. Correspondence: D. Deutz, 80 Bawdsey Ave., Ilford, Essex.
- WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY.** Fridays 7.30 p.m., 146 Inderwick Road, Hornsey, N.8 (41 bus to Tottenham Lane, nr. "Hope & Anchor"). Correspondence: Secretary, at above address.
- WOOLWICH.** 2nd and 4th Fridays (June 10 and 24) in month, 7.30 p.m., Town Social Club, Mason's Hill, S.E.18. Discussions at 8 p.m. Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens, Eltham, S.E.9.

DISCUSSION AND STUDY GROUPS

- BRISTOL.** Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Backfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2. Tel.: 24680.
- CHELTEMHAM.** Enquiries: Ken Smith, 338 Swindon Road.
- DORKING & DISTRICT.** Enquiries: O.C. Iles, "Ashleigh" Townfield Rd., Dorking.
- MANCHESTER.** Enquiries: J. M. Breaky, 2 Dennison Avenue, Manchester 20. Tel.: Did 5709.
- MITCHAM & DISTRICT.** Tuesday (June 7), 8 p.m., "White Hart," Mitcham Cricket Green. Enquiries: T. Lord, 288 Church Road, Mitcham.
- NEWPORT & DISTRICT.** Meetings at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport (Details advertised in *South Wales Argus*). Enquiries M. Harris, 25 Court Farm Estate, Cwmbran, nr. Newport, Mon.
- OLDHAM.** Wednesdays 7.30 p.m., 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees, at above address. Tel.: Mai 5165.
- REDHILL.** Enquiries: A. A. Kemp, 19 Ashcombe Rd., Merstham, Redhill, Surrey.
- SUSSEX.** Enquiries: W. Craske, "Hazelcroft," Green Road, Wivelsfield Green, Sussex.
- SWANSEA.** Enquiries: V. Brain, 17 Brynawellon, Pencelliogi, Llanelly, Glam.

MEETINGS

ISLINGTON DISCUSSION

- June 16th Thursday 8 pm, Co-op Hall, Seven Sisters Rd. N.7 (near Finsbury Park Tube)
A member of the Young Humanists Group will address the branch on "Humanism"

LEWISHAM LECTURES

Mondays 8.15 pm, Davenport Rd., Rushey Green, Catford, S.E.6.

- June 13th American Revolution C. Wilson
June 27th A series of three lectures on the
July 11th Economics of Modern Capitalism
July 18th Lecturer E. Hardy

PADDINGTON LECTURES

Wednesday 8.30 p.m., The Olive Branch, Crawford St., W.1

- June 8th The Paris Commune I. Jones
15th American Revolution C. Wilson
22nd Feudalism S. Lion
29th Economic Basis of Racism H. Walters

LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS

- Sundays Hyde Park 3.30 pm
East Street, Walworth
June 12th & 26th (11 am)
June 5th & 19th (noon)
Beresford Square, Woolwich 8 pm
- Thursdays Tower Hill 12.30-2 pm
Earls Court 8 pm
- Saturdays Rushcroft Road, Brixton 8 pm
Hyde Park 7.30

GLASGOW OUTDOOR MEETINGS

- Saturdays Royal Exchange Square 3 pm (off Queen Street)
- Sundays West Regent Street 7.30 pm (outside Odeon Cinema)

SOCIALIST STANDARD

Journal of the SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

JUNE 1960 No. 670, VOL 56

THIS FEARSOME WORLD

WE live in a fearsome and threatening world.

A world in which the two dominant capitalist Powers, Russia and the United States, compete frenziedly with each other to pile up huge stocks of guided missiles and atomic warheads. A world of four-minute "count-downs" and weapons which can be projected even from under the sea to land on targets thousands of miles away with pin-point accuracy. Rivalling these in frightfulness are other abominations—chemical poisons and bacteria, as well as viruses capable of carrying diseases hitherto unknown. Some of these are so virulent, according to recent reports, that one speck would suffice to wipe out the world's population.

Vast sums of money are spent on armaments of all kinds, only for these to be superseded in a matter of years by others even deadlier and more costly. Some weapons, such as missiles and aircraft, can be out-of-date by the time they become "operational," or even before. Millions and millions of pounds are wasted by the smaller Powers such as Britain on fiascoes like the Blue Streak, or by France in setting off insignificant atom-bombs in the middle of the Sahara. In such ways are Mankind's capacities for scientific achievement perverted and mis-used under capitalism.

Apparently unmoved by all these signs of a society gone mad, the peoples of the world go about their daily business, seeking to forget or ignore the grim dark shadow that hangs over their lives.

But capitalism will not allow them to forget or ignore its terrible realities. As though to drag them willy-nilly to face these realities came the news that the Russians had shot down an American plane caught spying over their territory. Denying the story at first, the Americans admitted the accusation when they realised the Russians had captured the pilot alive. And then gradually the details came out—not from the Americans, be it noted, who still took refuge in saying as little as possible—but from our newspaper pundits who had been so quiet previously.

The *Observer* proceeded to tell us that it was not a

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weather plane, as the Americans had first contended, but a specially-built Lockheed jet with abnormally large wings (presumably for gliding long distances with the engine cut off) and capable of cruising at 550 miles an hour. Such planes, it added, had been mapping Russian territory for months and this one was not the first to have been hit.

The *Guardian* took up the story to recall that there had been similar incidents in 1958 involving the shooting-down of American planes over Russia. This incident in its opinion was "much like the affair of the British frogman who was presumably sent to have a look at a Russian cruiser at the time of the Bulganin-Khrushchev visit to Portsmouth"—a reference to the ill-fated Commander Crabbe whose disappearance caused so much speculation but which was never cleared up.

It was left to Chapman Pincher of the *Daily Express*, however, to brush aside all the hypocrisy by quite bluntly saying that "though Intelligence is a dirty game every nation plays it. Why, we even spy on our allies." According to Pincher, British reconnaissance planes had only recently been briefed to fly over French territory to monitor their atom-bomb tests. And as for Britain's own tests in the Pacific, he added, they had been monitored by both the Americans and the Russians, the latter from submarines.

Of the few who reflected on the possible serious consequences of all these manoeuvrings, Paul Johnson in the *Evening Standard* noted the significant fact, that it was Khrushchev himself who had given the order to destroy the aircraft. It was for Khrushchev personally to decide, according to Johnson, whether the plane was just another intelligence mission or really the harbinger of a full-scale nuclear attack. In the event, "his nerve seems to have held, and he chose merely to destroy the aircraft rather than unleash the retaliatory deluge."

Over-dramatic—and quite possibly an exaggeration of the situation. But the essential warning is there. Nobody can be certain that one day someone might not press the button, even in error, and "unleash the retaliatory deluge."

A fearsome, threatening world, indeed—which only Socialism can transform into a secure and peaceful one.

News in Review

Syngman Rhee

In 1950 the U.S.A. intervened in Korea, when that country was torn by internal strife and faced with the threat that Communist China was attempting to take over the country. Fortunately for the U.S.A., Russia had just walked out of the Security Council, and the United States was able to get the United Nations' support against "Communist aggression" and go to the aid of Korea in order to save that country for "democracy." Most nations of the Western bloc will not forget in a hurry places like Pusan and Seoul, where bitter fighting took place. Many died on both sides for that hackneyed phrase "Freedom."

It has been asserted more than once that the so-called Chinese Communism is a repressive dictatorship where people have no rights and democratic government is not known—in fact it is a police state. The war, as we know, ended in a stalemate in 1953 with North Korea in the orbit of China and the Southern part under the "democracy" of Syngman Rhee. Following the recent shooting of demonstrators in Seoul, Mr. Christian Herter, the U.S. Secretary of State summoned Mr. Yen Chan Yeng, South Korea's Ambassador to the U.S.A. for discussion. Within an hour, the Secretary's Press Officer was "expressing the U.S.A.'s profound and growing concern over (1) the high-handed suppression of political opposition by Korea's 85 year old President Syngman Rhee; (2) brutal Korean police action against student protest marchers and (3) other repressive measures unsuited to a free democracy." It seems that Syngman Rhee has all the aspirations and undemocratic desires of a minor Stalin. Unfortunately, the workers who died in defence of "Freedom" in Korea cannot protest, but we can. This is another of the many tragic examples of workers being hoodwinked with empty phrases. Wars are fought to perpetuate this vicious capitalist system, not to institute "democratic freedoms."

Caryl Chessman

The recent legal, ritual putting to death of Caryl Chessman in San Quentin gas chamber, after twelve years' occupation of a death cell, brings into morbid focus the irrational and negative character of the death penalty. Those who defend

the death penalty act on the base assumption that human nature is essentially anti-social and that only "the fear of the rope" deters us from asserting our "instincts" to wantonly murder and rape. On the contrary, it was our own society, which institutes at every level of social life struggle and competition, that nurtured the violence in Caryl Chessman's make-up during his earlier years. Twelve years ago, Chessman was a hardened criminal, a product of slum poverty, brutalised by a childhood history of reformatory schools. His own criminality was in itself a negative response to the injustices of his own environment. Yet by Chessman's own efforts through education, the man they executed was a thousand cultural miles removed from the man they originally condemned. But blind retribution had to proceed. For an individual to offend against morals by committing rape, as Chessman was convicted of having done, poses a social problem. But when organised society in all its brutal ignorance exacts primitive vengeance from the life of an individual after twelve years' incarceration, that constitutes a nightmare. The significance of the case of Caryl Chessman will be missed if we fail to condemn the society which first produced him and then so brutally destroyed him.

That Wedding

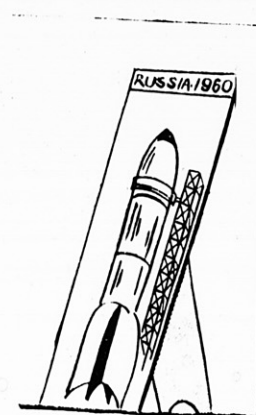
PRINCESS MARGARET'S wedding has been

a source of joy to the headline writers of the popular press for some months now. Sickening discussions have taken place on the number of bridesmaids, the style of the wedding dress, and so on. More recently, sections of the press have been coming down to earth with some articles on the cost of the whole pantomime. The Government, without batting an eyelid, has spent £25,000 on the wedding, with a further £40,000 on the honeymoon cruise. It is surprising that these papers, and some Labour M.P.'s, should suddenly criticise the expenditure on the cruise, because, as pointed out in the House of Commons, the royal yacht costs £4,000 a week in wages alone, whether or not it is in use. However, those in Parliament who do criticise, are in the minority; the majority think that as advertising agents for British capitalism, the royal family do a good job of work, and they should be paid accordingly, with now and then a bonus like this gigantic wedding.

Economic Rebore

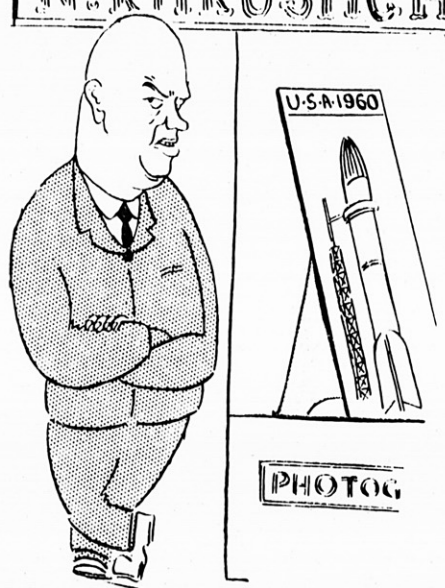
Our economic system is a gigantic machine that needs constant care and attention. A mechanic who understands his car can keep it in good order indefinitely, but the political mechanics, whose job it is to keep capitalism in good running order, have very limited control over the caprices of our mode of production. However, one body of

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AERIAL PHOTOGRAPHY

N. KHRUSHCHEV



PHOTOGRAPH

Same Business—Different Management

opinion insists that a healthy balance between production and consumption can be maintained, if, from time to time, the brakes are applied to working class spending. Production is geared to meet the demands of the market at their peak, and any fall in demand can cause chaos in the economy. The latest credit squeeze was designed to restrict the too rampant expansion of industry by putting a curb on capital investment. This old machine, even if it gets a de-carb and a rebore, is liable to break down at any time. We all have to travel in it, and it is time we thought seriously about getting ourselves a new one.

Policeman's Lot

THE increasing rate of crime and the shortage of manpower in the police force has caused the Government to set up a Royal Commission to investigate the matter. A joint memorandum has been submitted to the Commission by the Police Federations of England and Wales and Scotland. The memorandum said "That the decline in the relative status and pay of the police constable was calamitous—that police pay should be maintained at between 40 and 45 per cent. above the average weekly earnings of manual workers." It was claimed in the memorandum that "the constable at the maximum of his scale is no longer 55 to 60 per cent. ahead of the average worker's earnings. He has fallen so far that he is getting less pay than the average." This situation led one Chief Constable into allowing his men to take up civilian work after finishing their duty, a state of affairs that is deplored in the memorandum, it being considered that "a constable should be paid sufficient to be able to hold himself aloof from spare time work which might lead to embarrassment or to a conflict of loyalties."

This fall in pay is an example of the natural oscillation of price around value, caused by fluctuation of supply and demand on the market. The fact is that the post-war boom having created a terrific demand for productive labour power, the police force has been to some extent neglected in the mad scramble for profit. We use the term "natural oscillation of price" because this applies to all commodities which are helpless to resist the effect of these oscillations. The unique commodity in this respect is labour power, whose owners can resist market fluctuations to some extent by intelligent use of their trade unions and the strike weapon. The police don't have access to this weapon and are thus

as helpless as a pot of jam in determining its price.

Red Herrings

THE second United Nations law of the sea conference—on the Icelandic fishing dispute—has ended in failure. Mr. John Hare, leader of the British delegation, blamed the "selfish interest" of the other contending capitalist countries. No capitalist class will ever admit that its own interests are selfish; the selfish ones are always the others. Our rulers will expect the working class to support them on this as on many other issues. But the dispute over three, six or twelve mile limits does not concern the working class. The only limit which concerns the workers is the boundary between the

two classes in society—the rulers on one side and the ruled on the other.

Plane Over Russia

THE incident of the American plane which was shot down over Russia when on a spying mission raised a furore. There was much criticism of the American action, especially in left-wing circles. It is hard to see why this was. The present division of the world into mutually contending powers—which is inevitable so long as there is capitalism—means that each country must spy on all the others in order not to be taken at a disadvantage if war breaks out. It all goes back to the basic contradiction in all non-Socialist "progressive" thinking: the system of capitalism is supported, and yet its results are attacked.

Ungrateful Employees

ACCORDING to the Insurance Information Institute of Los Angeles, U.S. businessmen, organisations and industry are being swindled out of more than £70 million each day by "their employees." It is said that many of the major thefts were traced to "old and trusted employees, almost like members of the family." The report described the more audacious cases; one man employed by a stove firm carried them away piece by piece and after reassembling, sold them at a reduced price. We learn from Mr. Mee, a senior U.S. insurance official, that the cumulative effect of this most ungracious pilfering activity on the part of dishonest employees has forced many firms to the brink of bankruptcy and beyond. But there is a saying "when in Rome do as the Romans do." Capitalism sets today's standards as it has done for about two hundred years, and a fact which so often escapes people's minds is that the accumulated wealth which is owned by the capitalist class is a direct result of what can only be described as a swindle at the expense of the working class.

It would appear that when a worker helps himself in what can mostly be a small insignificant scale, society condemns him as a "petty swindler," a "cheap crook," and his repentance is demanded, but when capitalists do the same on a very much larger scale, within the law, they are acclaimed "public benefactors" and are given either a knighthood or considered suitable for a presidential candidature. It is, of course, easy

to understand Mr. Mee's concern for the bankrupt employers. After all, insurance companies have one of the largest vested interests in the smooth running of capitalism. The fact is that workers are not audacious enough. If they were, then perhaps they would do the logical thing and take over not only all they produce, but more importantly, also the means and instruments of production themselves. The taking of chances by old and trusted employees would then be unnecessary, and for that matter, so would employers and insurance companies.

W. G. C.

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SCHOOLS TO-DAY

What's happening to the Schools?

The Socialist Party's recent pamphlet explains the basic reasons for the changes in modern education

6d.

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Transport and the Growth of Industry (5)

The Steam Ship

STEAM did not easily conquer sail. Although potentially the more powerful method of propulsion, it had a hard fight to establish itself. As early as the 15th and 16th centuries, for example, men were investigating steam power. But the idea was defeated by the lack of the necessary metal alloys, steel and so forth. It was the Industrial Revolution, bringing the social need for new techniques, which solved the problem and established the new motive power.

The first application of steam was to the driving of factories and the pumping-out of mines. The early engines were heavy affairs, expensive consumers of fuel and capable of only low horse power. The engineers therefore turned their attention to boats, which with their displacement of water and ability to carry the heavy engine promised to be a profitable method of applying steam.

In the early 1800's, the Europeans were using a conventional type of vessel which had changed only slowly: the *Victory*, a first ship of the line, was over 40 years old at Trafalgar. The Americans, on the other hand, were untrammelled by old shipbuilding traditions, had plenty of first class timber and attracted the venturesome and radical mechanics and immigrants. Thus they could improve the style of sailing ships.

After the Napoleonic Wars, immigration to the Americas increased, the bulk of it being carried by the Yankee clipper ships, running the first advertised liner service. The Americans were the leading shipbuilders, with transatlantic cargo boats of 1,200 tons against the British average of about 250 tons. They also built the faster ships, with an increased ratio of length to beam. All this improvement in sail was preparing the ground for the adoption of steam.

The first steam boats, because of their heavy fuel consumption, worked on short river journeys. In the early 19th century, Symington invented a steam boat for use on the new canals, but the canal owners neglected his work. In the United States in 1807, Fulton built a ferry, successfully steam driven. Steam river and harbour boats turned up in odd corners of the earth: in Italy in 1824, Java in 1811, India in 1820, and as packet steamers in the Irish Channel. But it was in expanding America, where

the rivers and lakes were the principal method of communication, that the real development took place. Wood was a plentiful—and therefore a cheap—fuel. A fast marine engine was developed to overcome the swift river currents. So successful was this development that by 1833 there were about 300 paddle boats in use in America. In many ways, this concentration on opening the interior led the Yankee shipping interests to lose their supremacy in the development of the Atlantic steam boat.

The Industrial Revolution had made Britain a great iron and machine producing nation; this proved to be a trump card in their bid to regain supremacy in the Atlantic and Pacific. The Americans tried to muscle in, building the *Savannah*, but this was a half-hearted effort: they later removed *Savannah's* engines. The 1830s and 1840s saw many types of vessels coming onto the Atlantic, with men like Sam Cunard and Isambard Brunel prominent shipbuilders. British investors were eager to support the steamships—Liverpool and Glasgow, for example, raised some £270,000 in a few days for one of Sam Cunard's ventures.

Of course, the steamships had their problems, being expensive both to build and to run. The first Cunarder cost some £45 per ton to build, against £15 for every ton of a sailing vessel. The *Britannia* of 1840 could carry only 225 tons of cargo—and for this needed 640 tons of coal. The steamers could make more runs to a regular timetable, but much of the extra profit which this brought was eaten up by the costs of building and running. This made them concentrate on the busy and more lucrative routes; the British shipowners were always very keen to get the Government mail contract, as the payment was a form of subsidy. The expansion of British commerce sent the steamships on routes other than the Atlantic. Anderson and Wilcox opened the Spanish trade and later, when they got the mail contract to India, formed the famous Peninsular and Orient Line. Regular services were in operation to the principal South American ports—this under the eye of the Admiralty, who were interested in the use of steam for warships.

Indeed, it was the need of the British

capitalist class to maintain a large navy to protect their far-flung interests which forced the steady flow of design and skill to be used for both naval and mercantile purposes. In contrast, the European powers lagged behind. North Germany was still a tangle of small states and free cities, with capital in the hands of a few families who were reluctant to take the necessary steps of widening ports and deepening channels. The Dutch were in no better state. It was well into the 1850's before the French started anything like a regular steamship service.

Sail not Finished

The 1850's saw the screw replacing the paddle amongst the larger sea-going vessels. Over the previous 40 years there had been great development; engines had become more complex and efficient, using less coal in relation to their increased power. Brunel's *Great Eastern* was not typical of the ships of the day, but it was a signpost of things to come. By 1862, Holt had 3,000 ton steamers in operation, whose engines used 2½ lb. of coal per horse power each hour (to work up a pressure of 60 lb. per square inch). Compare this with the 10 lbs. of coal used in the 1820's to generate 56 lbs. per square inch.

But sail was by no means finished. Sailing ships were cheaper to run, which made them attractive to the tramping, coasting and whaling trades. It also enabled them to cover the cost of delays in the ports of the newly developed lands, where lack of loading aids and dock construction meant weeks of waiting whilst cargoes were man handled ashore. For this reason, sailing ships were extensively used in the South American fertiliser and chemical trade. They were also used for the Australian immigration trade in the 1860's, which was denied to the steamships by the lack of coaling stations. It was this run which led the Aberdeen builders to modernise (or Americanise) their design, making the famous ships which often grace calendars and other pictures. Typical of these was the *Cutty Sark*.

There are few things which catch the imagination of the romantic so much as a clipper at full sail. There are, of course, a number of facts which the romantics overlook. Sailing ships had

to be towed out of ports by steam tugs—without this assistance, it was not unusual for them to spend days trying to get out of the English Channel or the mouth of the Elbe. The clippers were difficult to handle and were only kept afloat by the crew's intimate knowledge of sea and sail. Seamen's conditions were poor compared with those on the steamships; it was, for example, quite usual in bad weather for men to be flung overboard from the rigging. The competent crews began to leave the sailing ships and this was one of the factors in their slow decline.

By the 1880's the European powers were able to offer a real challenge to British control of the Atlantic. Germany was united and, expanding, warlike and naval conscious, built large and powerful liners. Belgium was one of the many countries where American shipbuilding money was invested; the Dutch, French and Italians were also in the struggle. The Scandinavians were becoming the Carter Paterson of the sea.

Thus the steamships, like the railway and the motor car, became part of capitalist development, part of the commercial bloodstream in the body of private property. The machine caused the mercantile powers to overhaul the system of maritime training. This meant the end of the illiterate sea captain and the brutal seamen, their heads full of unwritten sea lore which they passed on by word of mouth. Seamen became like factory workers and, like their landlubber cousins, learned to organise in trade unions to improve their conditions. When they are in demand—as in wartime—they are made much of, but they are often the first to suffer in times of a trade slump.

In sea transport, capitalism has played a typical role. It has developed, organised and divided. The ships, the men who make them and the men who sail in them, have all been changed by it.

JACK LAW.

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The Catholic Church and Authority

EVERY Sunday evening without fail, there is a religious programme on television. Sunday, May 1st, was no exception. The contributor to the programme was none other than his eminence, Archbishop Heenan of Liverpool, who had some interesting and outrageous statements to make on authority and tyranny, which were later reproduced in the *Universe*. Some of the characteristic evils of our time, he said, were "Defiance of Authority" and "Unofficial Strikes." He forgot to mention, however, that authority invites defiance when it is oppressive. On the question of unofficial strikes, it should be made clear that workers take action by striking only when they feel that they have a legitimate grievance.

The Archbishop then entered the realm of sport. "You can't even run a football match without authority. What would happen when a game got dirty if no one obeyed the referee?" Too true, Mr. Archbishop, but surely this is a very poor parallel? Capitalism is a dirty game in its entirety. Football, especially when it is not being played for money, is usually clean, but even so the workers do not make the rules under capitalism, neither do they pick the referee.

He then proceeded to say that "Some people think the Church is like a totalitarian state. Of course, there are bullies amongst the clergy, as there are in other groups, but on the whole, we are not tyrants." Well, well. It seems that some of the Delegates of God have been reading their texts instead of their newspapers. Talking of totalitarians and tyranny our minds go back to Mussolini and Franco. Did not the Church of Rome support the Christianising of those Abyssinian savages with dive bombers, and did they not also give support to Franco against the democratic government of Spain? Surely the Pope is a classic example of complete authority, for remember, the Roman Catholic Church argues that as the word of God on earth, the Pope can do or say no wrong.

But the Archbishop's field ranged far and wide. "It is not the Church but the law of God that forbids divorce and contraceptives." Seeing that both these things are products of modern society,

one wonders when and where the directive came to oppose them. The writer well remembers the look of horror on the face of the local parish priest when he suggested that contraceptives would probably assist the health and economic position of a relative after she had produced her ninth child. "The Lord will provide" was his answer. But the Lord was meagre in his provision, for her husband was unemployed and they lived in two rooms in a Bermondsey slum.

Archbishop Heenan also had a prayer for the upholders of authority. "Have you any pity for those who exercise authority? It is so easy to think that the man at the top has done pretty well for himself. The night before an execution I pray for the Home Secretary as well as the criminal."

Now this is the limit. The Archbishop presumably thinks that the problem of deciding is as acute as the problem of losing one's own life—and after all, the Home Secretary can always change his job. The Archbishop has also a lot to say about guidance, but of course he surely would not advise that the criminal go free, for that would be a blow to authority. In our view, he could have well spent his time considering the barbaric practice of capital punishment.

It seems that as all the other advertisers on ATV have to pay for time on the air, the Archbishop can congratulate himself on a free half-hour of advertisement. In this day and age it is tragic that leaders of the Church can put over this rubbish and unfortunately it will be accepted, by Catholics in particular, for blind acceptance of the teachings of the Catholic Church is its major rule. It is one of the most backward of all religions, one that breeds on ignorance and poverty. We ask all Catholic workers to seriously examine the contradictions and arguments of Roman Catholicism, and they, too, will see that they are irrational, and will set about achieving a sane and intelligent society. Tyranny will be a thing of the past and the mumbo jumbo of the Church service will be replaced by intelligent discussion of the real world where men will walk with pride and dignity and not in fear of the myth of Popery and repressive authority.

J. P. E.

The Falling Rate of Profit

In the early part of the 19th century the economist Ricardo had his own simple idea about the falling rate of industrial profit. Essentially his idea was that there is a natural tendency of profits to fall because, or so he believed, more and more labour was required to produce foodstuffs and this meant higher prices and higher wages. In the 3rd Edition 1821 of his *Principles of Political Economy*, where he dealt with this, he went on to say:

This tendency . . . is happily checked at repeated intervals by the improvements in machinery connected with the production of necessities, as well as by discoveries in the science of agriculture, which enables us to relinquish a portion of labour before required, and therefore to lower the price of the prime necessities of the labourer. (*Everyman Library*, page 71.)

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Half a century later Marx went into this much more thoroughly and dealt with it in Chapter XIV of the 3rd Volume of *Capital*. He held that there is a general tendency for the rate of profit to fall because of the greater quantity of constant capital in production (plant, machinery, raw material, etc.) and the relatively smaller quantity of variable capital, i.e., that part spent on wages. He explained in the opening paragraph of the chapter that whereas other economists were looking for an explanation of the falling rate of profit the problem for him was the opposite one, namely of finding out why the fall is not greater and more rapid. He wrote:—"There must be some counteracting influences at work, which thwart and annul the effects of this general law, leaving to it merely the character of a tendency." In Chapter XIV he dealt briefly with these counteracting factors which included raising the intensity of exploitation, and the cheapening of the elements of constant capital. He therefore expected the fall to be slow.

He recognised that the rate of profit could rise as well as fall, and in an example he gives (page 91) he showed that in a cotton spinning factory where the average rate was about 33 per cent. this was abnormally high because at that time cotton was very cheap and the price of yarn was very high.

It would, of course, not be easy to find out what the average rate of profit is over the whole field of production and, in order to get a true average rate, it would be necessary to look at a period of several years, not merely at what is happening at the moment.

While the average rate of profit rises and falls with the variations of good and bad trade it is quite evident that there cannot have been a continuing fall of the rate of profit for 150 years. If there had been the rate of profit now would be very low, which of course it is not. An American writer, Joseph M. Gillman in his book *The Falling Rate of Profit* (Cameron Associates—New York, 1958) in an analysis of the course of events in America reaches the tentative conclusion that while the rate of profit was falling it is now rising. He writes: "Whereas for the years before about World War I the historical statistics seem fully to support these theories of Marx, after that war

the series studied appear generally to behave in contradiction to the Marxist expectations." We can get an approximate idea of the amount and movement of the British rate of profit from the *Financial Times* index of profits which covers several thousand companies with total capital running into over £5,000 million. *Financial Times* figures for the profits of 2,600 industrial companies in 1959 show that total profit less depreciation represents 21 per cent. of the total of the issued ordinary capital plus capital and revenue reserves. Figures from the same source show an apparent slow fall in the percentage in the years 1951 to 1959, but there is reason to believe that this apparent fall is a reflection of the fact that, in a time of inflation, with steadily rising prices, balance sheet figures of capital values and depreciation are an underestimate. At the end of the war capital assets and depreciation would usually appear at a figure not much above the pre-war levels. In the years since the war this has been gradually corrected. If it had been corrected at the outset the rate of profit would probably have been stable or may even have shown a steady increase. It is certainly likely that between 1958 and the present time, when total profit has been rising fast, the rate of profit has also been rising.

This is not an academic question because round it have been built theories of the onset of crises. John Strachey in his pre-war book *The Nature of Capitalist Crisis* took it for granted that the rate of profit was falling and moreover that it was falling rapidly. He then argued that because of this fall in the rate the capitalist has to keep on enlarging his capital in order to get the same mass of profit out of a falling rate of profit.

This is the formula of the minimum rate of accumulation necessary to capitalism. If ever, and whenever, the rate of accumulation falls below this level, the system must, and does, jam. For it becomes more profitable for the capitalists to restrict than to expand production. (page 247.)

It is not particularly important that Strachey no longer holds this view for there are certainly others who still hold it. But in practice it by no means follows that boards of directors behave in

this way. Some of them and certainly the very large companies take a longer view and do not curtail investment because of a current fall in the rate of profit. As a case in point the Unilever group reported a quite drastic fall in their rate of profit in 1957 but because they take a longer view, their capital investment did not decline but was increased. The evidence would seem to show that the rate of capital investment is less influenced by the current rate of profit than by the long term expectations

of over-production likely to arise in the near or more distant future.

One of the factors that at the present time may be helping to raise the rate of profit is the merger of many large groups of companies and the economies of capital expenditure that can be achieved that way, while another is the growth of shift working which enables them to keep their plant running more or less round the clock.

Finance & Industry

Unemployment

ALTHOUGH there have been earlier periods when unemployment has remained at a very low level in this country which have given rise to optimistic beliefs that this was bound to continue, it is certainly true that there has never before been a period in which unemployment in Great Britain has remained low for so long. In the years since the end of the war it has averaged about 2 per cent. and apart from a brief period early in 1947 when it touched 2 million during the fuel shortage crisis the highest level recorded was in January, 1959, when it was 621,000 or 2.8 per cent.

It would, however, put the matter in wrong perspective to forget that in many other countries experience has been different. In Belgium during the years 1948-1954 it averaged 7.6 per cent. and in 1953 was nearly 9 per cent. Over the whole 12 years to 1959 it averaged 6.6 per cent. (these and other figures are taken from United Nations and ILO Publications). Incidentally, Belgian figures over the whole period show an additional considerable percentage of workers partly or temporarily unemployed. In Western Germany, although unemployment has now fallen to a very low level it was well over a million from 1949-1954 and averaged during the whole of the post-war years over 6 per cent. In Italy unemployment in all the years from 1947-1958 was not far short of 2 million, that is, between 9 per cent. and 10 per cent. In Denmark it has averaged nearly 9½ per cent. for 12 years from 1948-1959. In Canada it has averaged over 5 per cent. and in 1954 was 10.8 per cent. Austria and the U.S.A. are among the countries with relatively

high unemployment at different times as also are Ireland and India.

Valuing the Rouble

ON May 5th Khrushchev announced in Moscow that the Russian rouble is being re-valued on the basis that one new rouble will be equal to and will be exchanged for 10 old roubles. Prices and wages are being cut by the same amount. This operation, which is like the re-valuation of the franc, recently carried out by de Gaulle's government, is the second of its kind carried out in Russia, as a similar operation was carried out in 1947. One obvious reason for this was given by Khrushchev in that it will improve the rouble's international standing. The new rouble's official exchange value will make it approximately equal to the pound sterling. According to the *Financial Times* (6/5/60) another interesting explanation given in Moscow was that it is being introduced partly to simplify accounting and partly to simplify the techniques of electronic computers.

Another suggestion is that it is being done to help the growing Russian export drive. Among the products that Russia is now actively pushing into world markets are motor cars, heavy engineering goods, oil products and latest of all, the attempt to sell their new turbo-prop airliners abroad.

Back in 1936 a book called *Soviet Export* was published in Moscow in the English translation and in it the author M. Zhirmunski set out to explain why



Russia's attitude to foreign trade was quite different from the attitude of the other exporting countries. He wrote that: "In the case of every country with a capitalist system of economy, export trade is a direct consequence of the necessity of foreign markets."

He quoted from Lenin the explanation that there is not and could not be a capitalist nation without foreign trade due, among other causes, to the fact that "capitalist enterprise inevitably grows beyond the confines of the community, the local market, the region, and subsequently even of the state."

Things have changed a lot since then and it will be recalled that Stalin shortly before his death wrote that the time was approaching when Russia and the countries in the Russian economic sphere would be increasingly looking for foreign markets. It is quite evident now that in an increasing number of industries production, in the words of Lenin, has grown beyond the local market and has to be disposed of elsewhere.

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A Man's Eye View of Evolution

The study of the cosmos is a study of physical-chemical relationships.

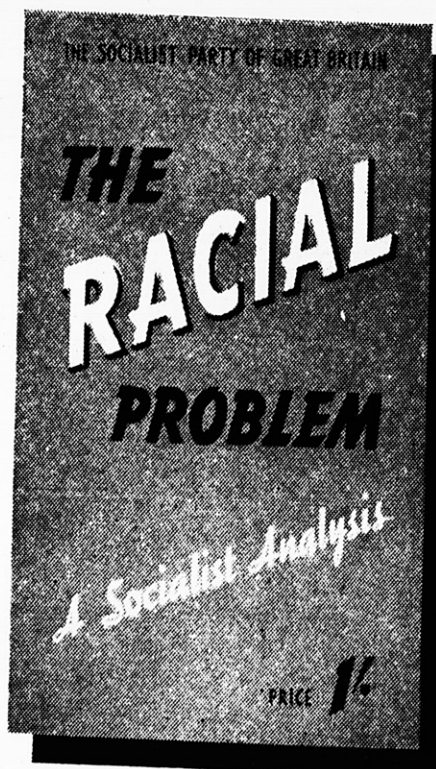
Astronomy, which arose out of material developments, eventually gave rise to the next smaller great generalization of existence, geology, the science and study of the earth.

Some billions of years ago a hot gaseous mass emerged from the sun. In all the conflicting speculations and educated guesses as to the specific details of the origin of the earth, there is no quarrel that the solar system consists of the various planets revolving around the sun in their respective orbits.

It took a few billion years before the gaseous mass became a vast sea and, later, came the emergence of the geological formations. Evolution in geology can be traced through the strata by the fossils found in them. The evolutionary stages of geology may be summarized as archæozoic (transition to and beginnings of life), proterozoic (earliest life), paleozoic (ancient life), mesozoic (middle life, reptiles) and cenozoic (recent life, mammals).

In the course of a very long time there appeared on earth pre-biological forms which later developed into living matter.

Read



Organic life is only a more complex organization of inorganic substances which have acquired the properties of growth and reproduction. In order for life to arise on earth, propitious conditions had to exist. The earth's average mean temperature had to cool sufficiently to support life, which can only exist within relatively very small limits of temperature. There also had to exist an atmosphere, moisture and other favourable circumstances. (2).

As a rule, charts of the tree of life start with the single-celled animal, as though this were the simplest and earliest form of life. Of course, this is not true. The single-celled animal is already a very complex form of a living being.

Inorganic matter, more especially carbon, with other elements, became joined together into complex molecules which were the building blocks of ultra-microscopic life. Of special significance is it that proteins are inorganic, yet under certain specific conditions function as organic matter. The viruses may be called the first true life forms. The next higher stage is bacteria. Eventually appeared the single-celled plants.

The primary distinction between plants and animals is that plants can subsist on inorganic matter, i.e., they can transform the inorganic into organic substances whereas animals can only subsist on the organic. In order of evolution, single-celled plants preceded single-celled animals.

Starting with the single-celled plant, the evolution of plants were algae, mosses, ferns, non-flowering seed producers and, its highest development, the flowering seed producers.

The evolution of animals was from single-celled animals into spores, fishes, reptiles, mammals and, finally, man. In this man's eye view of the evolution of existence, we are only considering the main trunk and ignoring the branches of the tree.

(2) All the speculations about life on other planets in the cosmos, more especially our sister planets in the solar system—Mars and Venus, are predicated upon the existence on them of the conditions favourable for the support of life. Though there may be millions of planets in the cosmos (a relatively small number, actually), it is not reasonable to imagine that very many of them have life-forms.

Again, we see that evolution is a continuing process. The appearance of homo sapiens on the scene gave rise to sociology. In a very real sense, sociology is but a division of biology; which, in turn, is a division of geology; in its turn, a division of astronomy; which is but a branch of the greatest generalization of all, matter.

Man "is the only animal species that, from the very moment he came into existence, has been continuously changing and during a continuing process has become a different thing." (3) Through the interrelations of his brain and thinking processes, his acquisitions of speech and the development of tools man has become a social animal whose evolution can be traced through his social organizations. Only a Marxist, such as Anton Pannekoek in his invaluable "Anthropogenesis," (3) could have filled in the gap between the primates and the origin of homo sapiens, i.e., tied Darwinism and Marxism into an interrelated whole.

Man, the social animal, evolved from the pre-cave man into primitive tribal society (savagery and barbarism) and, then, into chattel slavery, through feudalism into capitalism and is now on the very dawn of a new society.

This whole development of social evolution arose from changes taking place in the material conditions of existence under which mankind lived. In response to these changes, there evolved changes in his ideas and institutions. Man makes his own history, "not out of the whole cloth" but out of the conditions at hand. This is Marxism, in a nutshell.

Our tribute to Darwin is for emancipating man from biological superstitions by his revolutionary contribution revealing the material forces that brought about the evolution of the species in biology.

Our tribute to Marx is for furnishing the key that unlocked the mystery of mankind's social evolution and for establishing the understanding that it is now possible and necessary for man to be master of his own form of social organization and, at the same time, the lord over nature.

(concluded)

RAB

(3) Published by North-Holland Publishing Company, Amsterdam, Holland.

A May Day Address

Hyde Park May 1st 1960

Comrades,

On the occasion of this annual event it is customary to cast a critical glance over the political scene and take stock of the position in which the working class finds itself. The Socialist Party gladly joins in this popular exercise of the day—not that we are going to ask you to vote for any resolutions instructing somebody to go and see the employers' representatives to call attention to some grievance.

We do feel it useful to try and estimate the actual position of the workers today, especially as the popular catch cry of the moment is that "you (meaning the workers) have never had it so good." Before examining the wider field, I must frankly say, after watching a few thousands of you march into the Park, that either you are not workers—or you are among the unfortunate ones. If the appearance of the great majority of you, both at this meeting and the others, is any criterion—either you are starving and worried capitalists—or very needy and seedy workers.

Of course, it may well be that more prosperous workers are not attracted to any expression of discontent—albeit as vague and feeble as the Labour Party.

Whatever may be the situation in Hyde Park this afternoon, there is no doubt about the position in the country in general. I can't, in a large open air meeting, bore you with long lists of quotations, but please do bear with me while I quote just one or two references. I think, if you listen to the facts, you will quickly realise that the prosperity stories we are hearing are only partly true. I might mention that we have heard them all before, about all sorts of places at various times.

They were the tales put about by interested parties in the United States fifty years ago—El Dorado—the golden land. The West Indians have been told this tale about us here in Great Britain. Double wages can be made in Australia—at double prices, this is why so many emigrants (those who can) hurry back home. Then, of course, there is Sweden—the most prosperous (?) working class in Europe. Incidentally, the people of any country lucky enough to escape the main consequences of the war could not

but consider themselves fortunate. Now, may I cite a few facts.

"The number of applications dealt with by the National Assistance Board during 1958 was 2,161,000," which was so good that there were 8,200 more than in 1957. (Ministry of Labour Gazette, July, 1959.) A further proof of the 1960 British workers' prosperity was the refusal of a grant to a further 341,000 applicants.

Now about wages, I quote from the SOCIALIST STANDARD, May issue, a statement by Heathcote Amory, Chancellor of the Exchequer, that weekly wage rates had increased by about 42 per cent. between 1952 and January, 1960, and by about 3½ per cent. between 1958 and January, 1960. In point of fact, REAL wage rates, i.e., wages geared to the Cost of Living figure—or the things that wages will buy—have increased by 9½ per cent. since 1938, BUT this figure is based on standard weekly rates of industrial workers. If this included clerical and salaried workers it would probably show no increase at all.

A summary of the situation has been made by Professor Titmuss, of the London School of Economics—not a very keen supporter of the S.P.G.B., who says in a pamphlet *The Irresponsible Society*, that one in every seven in Britain NOW are precariously close to poverty. He puts the total of the poverty line citizens at between seven and eight millions.

Now what about the other side of the picture—the profits of the capitalists? Provisional estimates show that dividends paid by companies in 1959 were about 78 per cent. higher than in 1952 and about 12 per cent. higher than in 1958. According to Mr. Amory "the balance has been restored." By this he means that the British workers have almost completely restored the gigantic losses in property destroyed during the war. The workers have presented the capitalists with a new productive outfit—with their own real wages stationary. This is the part of the business which keenly interests Socialists—and only Socialist economics give the correct way to judge this matter.

The most important thing for workers to realise today is not whether they are drawing £10 or £12 a week now, whereas in 1930 they only drew 15s. 3d. from the Labour Exchange. Decisive

for the worker is his position in relation to the capitalist—whether his share of wealth he produces, *Wages*, has increased compared with the capitalists.

Most of the evidence today shows that while many workers have improved their position—the profits made by many huge capitalist trusts have been all-time records.

These times of comparative prosperity in days of good trade are not new, they were well known to observers like Marx, who mentioned that they are used by workers to recompense themselves for the bad times. Actually, it is the self-styled "realist" who is so convinced that workers are no longer poor, because they are not howling for work in dole queues, who cannot see the wood for the trees. He it is who, obsessed with the past, judges his own position by 1930, instead of opening his eyes to the facts of 1960.

Undoubtedly we live in a world of great and rapid change—but one thing has not changed, even for the prosperous worker—his dependence on the capitalist for his livelihood, who allows him to live only while his labour keeps the employer in opulence.

Yes, even with his television set and his motor car the worker of today finds himself beset with an array of gnawing problems.

Socialists hold that Capitalism cannot be improved for the workers. We see no evidence at all to prove the unsoundness of our case. Only common ownership of the means of production can solve the workers' problem.

When we think of the number of May Day meetings held in the Park today, such as those of the Labour and Communist Parties, of the time and effort involved in chasing Aunt Sallies like Summit meetings or Nationalisation projects, and getting nowhere, we resolve still more strongly to raise aloft the banner of International Socialism.

Who else, but the Socialist Party of Great Britain, with its fifty years unblemished record of uncompromising independence and opposition to all fakers and reformists is entitled to say today "Workers of the World Unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains. You have a world to win."

Yes! But to win it, you must break with Reformism!

HORATIO

Aldermaston Marchers

EASTER Sunday and we are standing at the roadside between London Airport and Hounslow. Standing in spring sunshine edged by a cold wind blowing across the subtopia of Hounslow Heath. The traffic is humming along in unending stream, intent upon its own Easter-tide massacre.

Small, expectant crowds gather, starting down the road to Aldermaston. Suddenly, the marchers appear, black banners tossing in the wind. They have the appropriate pilgrimage atmosphere, with people falling in and out of the column, adding to the Indian contingent a lot of white faces and mixing young females with the section which, by its banner proclaiming "Eton Boys," would have us believe that the famous school is in revolt. It is these youngsters who catch the eye. Are their funny hats, weird hairstyles and beards a substitute for argument? Or colourful manifestations of sincerity? Their political development seems to be youthfully low.

Yet there is some comfort in this march. After the barren years of the delinquents, large numbers of young people seem to be getting active in a movement of protest against a social problem. Comfort, yes. How much?

The marchers are a mixed bunch, ranging from Communists to Unitarians, but all united (at least on the surface) against nuclear weapons. We should remember that "Ban the Bomb!" is only the latest cry of the Communists, who have shouted their way from demands for "Second Front Now!" to "Peace!" Anyway, they are only opposed to nuclear weapons this side of a line through Eastern Europe. Of the others, pacifist groups like the Quakers have at least stated an opposition to all wars. We are left with those who are more concerned with the Bomb than with war itself.

To these we say, simply and clearly: H-Bombs or blunderbusses, or any other weapons, are the expression of technical social skill manifested in the field of war. Wars are caused by the conflict between capitalist groups over raw materials, markets, zones of influence and profit. Get rid of capitalist society and we have rooted out the cause of war. Then social skills can be applied to society's benefit instead of to its destruction.

For years, Socialists have been urged to neglect the case for a new society and join the general clamour against some current evil. This has been the argument of, among others, the tail end of the pro-Boer left wingers, the United Free Irishers, the supporters of Colonial Freedom, the pro-Soviet-anti-Fascist groups and a host of movements for simple Peace and Plenty. In 1960, after the De Valeras, the Nkrumahs and the Verwoerds, we can see how shallow were the arguments for these causes. The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament will go the way of the rest.



For demonstrations, of course, are nothing new. The over-40's will remember the many pre-war occasions, their slogans fierce and denouncing compared to the Aldermaston youngsters piping, "We aint gonna study war no more!" The police were more numerous in the 20's and 30's; now, they follow the anti-nuclear marchers in a motor coach. But for all the changes, the reformist arguments are the same.

And will these marchers go the way of the pre-war demonstrators? Will they become bemused by full employment, settle down with a little car, a little house and a large mortgage? Become humdrum ratepayers, respectfully voting for the respectable party? We have seen it all before.

The need for Socialist propaganda is greater than ever, to urge people to look deeply into the terrible problems of capitalist society, deeper than the slogans and the banners. As they swing away down the road, that is the thought the Aldermaston marchers leave with at any rate one of their observers.

JACK LAW.

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From the SOCIALIST STANDARD, June, 1910.

BOOKS

Forty Million Refugees

THERE are no less than forty million refugees in the world today. Forty million people living in misery and hopelessness. Such is the appalling truth revealed in a little book recently published—**Refugees 1960** (Penguin Books, 2s. 6d.).

It is written by Kaye Webb with sketches by Ronald Searle, and covers forty-eight pages. In no sense, therefore, can it be described as an exhaustive work, but in the available space, the authors at least leave us in no doubt about the plight of these our fellow humans, condemned to rot away their pathetic lives in squalor and degradation. Disused army barracks, decaying hotels and (grimly ironical) even former concentration camps—in fact, any old building the authorities can lay hands on—have been pressed into use to accommodate these poor souls. Ill-fed, ill-clothed and ill-housed, it is small wonder that the health of many of them suffers, and with it their chance of escape.

For it is the lucky few only who manage to break through the mass of regulations and restrictions which the various powers insist on observing before they will allow a refugee to settle within their boundaries. For instance, they must not be too old or too young. They must not be ill. They must not be "immoral," nor illegitimate children. These are just some of the obstacles to overcome before the unfortunate person can gain entry into one of the major capitalist states.

Generally, the fairly young and healthy are the ones who manage to get away, because as the book tells us, *they represent an economic gain to the state which accepts them.* In other words, they can be employed profitably and the majority of those who remain, cannot. Socialists find this hardly surprising. Human considerations take a back seat in an inhuman world, where our whole lives are dominated by the profit motive.

The smallest camp in Greece has fifty-seven families of Assyrians who came from Mesopotamia forty years ago, and whose youngsters recently refused to emigrate rather than leave their sick and aged relatives behind. This is a reminder that, like many of capitalism's evils, the refugee problem is not new. It is still with us, only more so than before, having been greatly accentuated

by the last great war and the carve-up which followed. Many more were then "displaced" and will probably never be able to return to their former homes. And as we have seen, the chances of making a new home for themselves elsewhere are pretty slim.

Yet, despite this, the authors fondly hope that in this world refugee year, the camps can be emptied and the conscience of the capitalist world stirred so deeply that every man, woman and child will be resettled. Just listen to this:

Every country with room to spare should ease open its bureaucratic door



Good Reading

Questions of Today	1/-
Racial Problem	1/-
Russia Since 1917	1/-
Is Labour Government the Way to Socialism	4d.
Nationalisation or Socialism	6d.
Communist Manifesto and the last Hundred Years	1/-
Principles and Policy	6d.
Socialist Party and War	1/-
Socialist Comment	6d.
Schools Today	6d.

*All literature obtainable from
SPGB, 52 Clapham High St., London, S.W.4*

and undertake to accept without "ifs" or "buts" a percentage of the sick or economically useless human beings, to balance what they have gained from the young, healthy immigrants who will be benefiting their economy without any cost to them in education or training.

A tall order indeed. It is hopeless to appeal to the conscience of a society which has been directly responsible for such a monstrosity. Far better to have a world where man can be free to travel over its surface without the futile restrictions of nationality, and where he can satisfy his needs from a sufficiency of wealth that only Socialism can make available.

But when all this has been said, it is still worthwhile to read *Refugees 1960*. Mainly, it is a plain, straightforward statement of very unpalatable facts, and no attempt has been made to grind a political axe. Yet by its very simplicity of style and presentation, this book shouts a condemnation of capitalist society from every page.

F. T. C.

Books Received

SCIENCE AS HISTORY
Heinz Gartmann, Hodder & Stoughton 25s.
THE NEW NIGERIANS
Mora Dickson, Dobson 25s.
CHINA A NEW AGE, A NEW OUTLOOK
Penguin 3s. 6d.
JEWS IN OUR TIME
Norman Bentwich, Penguin 3s. 6d.
THE FIFTH FRENCH REPUBLIC
D. Pickles, Methuen 15s.
NEW IDEAS ON THE MARCH
J. Pannaker, New World Public's 2s. 9d.
THE VEST POCKET SPEAKER AND THE VEST
POCKET CHAIRMAN N.C.L.C., 1s. 6d. each.

North West Kent Discussion Groups

Will any readers in the Bexleyheath, Crayford, Dartford, Erith, Gravesend and Welling areas of North West Kent interested in the formation of a discussion group, communicate with H. J. Wilson, 7 Cyril Road, Bexleyheath, Kent (phone Bexleyheath 1950).

Also any readers in the Sidcup, Mottingham, Orpington, Eltham, Chislehurst areas communicate with W. G. Catt, 32, Ickleton Road, S.E.9 (Kipling 1796).

Theatre

Science v Religion

In July, 1925, at the town of Dayton, Tennessee, a school-teacher was charged under a State law with teaching the Darwinian theory of the origin of man instead of the story in Genesis, as the law demanded.

The case was defended by the great liberal lawyer Clarence Seeward Darrow, who was famous for defending many workers in cases that had arisen through their Trade Union struggles; a man who was by many derisively regarded as the friend of criminals, because he considered that society was to blame for their actions, being responsible for not only making men into criminals but also for defining at any time what was criminal and what was not, according to its own interests and prejudices.

Jerome Lawrence and Robert E. Lee have taken the case of the Tennessee schoolteacher John Scopes, and made it

the basis of their play *Inherit the Wind*, which had a regrettably short run at the St. Martin's Theatre. The play is not an actual report of the trial and the authors have changed the names of the participants, so that what we have are the essentials of the case and its conflict. This conflict is between the cant and superstition of unsophisticated religion and the enlightenment of "atheistic" science and is played against the background of the American Middle West with its particular pioneer traditions of suspicion, intolerance and isolation, which looked upon science not only as an encroachment on its religion and a device of the Devil, but as a threat to its way of life.

The Legislature of the State of Tennessee had laid down that it was unlawful for any public teacher "to teach the theory which denies the story of the

divine creation of man as taught in the Bible and to teach instead that man has descended from a lower form of animals."* It is also of interest to note that similarly, the State Legislature of Florida had declared it "improper and subversive of the best interests of the state for any public teacher 'to teach as true Darwinian or any other hypothesis that links man in blood relationship to any other form of life.'"

It was against thinking of this kind and every obstacle that could be put in his way, including the refusal to allow the testimony of eminent biologists, and the prosecution's able lawyer, William Jennings Bryan, that Darrow had to fight in his defence of John Scopes. Bryan was a man who held "firmly with childlike faith to a literal interpretation of the Bible," who was "hostile to the teachings of biological science which he had never had the inclination to study."

Darrow was moved by his abiding interest in science and his deep commitment to freedom of thought to volunteer to defend Scopes. He was in fact "of an astonishing variety of intellectual and social currents: skepticism in philosophy and religion, determinism in psychology, evolution in science, realism in literature, a farrago of socialism and anarchism in politics."

The outcome of the trial was a farcical compromise to save the face of the community, forced by Darrow's brilliant defence and the weight of American public opinion. The teacher John Scopes was simply fined a nominal sum. So far as Bryan was concerned, says the *American Dictionary of National Biography*, "the trial only revealed the naïveté of his religious faith and his want of familiarity with the trend of biological science." Already an old man, the strain of the trial brought him to his death five days later.

Inherit the Wind conveys with a fair degree of authenticity the setting and atmosphere of the trial, though the ending of the play is spoilt by anti-climax. The authors have conceded a point to the prevailing public morality, giving the impression that it is not religion itself that is questionable but merely fundamentalist religion; which is false not only to Darrow and to science, but to the spirit of the play also. Nevertheless, the play is not only good theatre, but a refreshing reminder of the gradual retreat of religion (and other fetishes), which makes our Socialist task that much easier.

I. D. J.

* *American Dictionary of National Biography.*

For the Socialist Party's views on Human Nature, Democracy, Labour and Conservative Parties, Nationalism, Religion and many other topics.

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY

1/- (1/3 post paid) from SPGB 52 Clapham High Street, SW4

COMPANION PARTIES

Socialist Party of Australia

P.O. Box 1440 Melbourne
29 Doris Street, North Sydney, P.O. Box 2291
Sydney

Socialist Party of Canada

P.O. Box 115 Winnipeg, Manitoba

Socialist Party of Ireland

Gen. Sec: 24 Newington Avenue, Belfast

Socialist Party of New Zealand

P.O. Box 62 Petone

World Socialist Party of the United States

11 Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston 9, Mass.

To the Editor



We invite our readers
to send letters
of comment and criticism,
But keep your letters
as short as possible.



News from the Branches

Annual Conference

This year's conference ran true to form, with plenty of discussion, lots of good ideas and some firm decisions on future party activity. As a result of the conference, we shall be looking into the running of Summer schools—which we last held six years ago—and further theoretical lectures. We shall also be reviewing our methods of contesting elections and investigating the chances of nominating a candidate at Nottingham. If we can enter an election here, it will be our first ever contest outside London—which says a great deal for the excellent work of the Nottingham comrades. The conference had a long discussion on party literature, seemed to like the new style STANDARD and to be prepared to spend more money on it. Many other aspects of party policy and organisation came under review and, thanks to the hard work of the general secretary's team and the chairman and vice-chairman, a heavy agenda was dealt with on schedule. It was most enjoyable to meet again the members from the provinces, some of them grand old comrades who have given—and are giving—so much effort to the party. An especial pleasure was the selection of two provincial members—Ron Cook of Birmingham and Walter Atkinson of Manchester—to speak at the Sunday evening rally.

The conference was also a social success, the Friday evening get-together and the Saturday dance being well attended. And we must not forget the comrades who worked so hard to provide everybody with refreshments at the social and throughout the conference. Conference over, the delegates and other members dispersed to their branches, ready for another year of the vital work for Socialism.

* * *

A Future Worth Living For

As is customary on these occasions, the Annual Conference was brought to a close by a lecture on some aspect of Socialism. This year it was given by two members from the provinces, W. Atkinson from Manchester and R. Cook from Birmingham. Their subject was: "A Future worth living for," which is the essence of Socialism. Comrade Atkinson spoke first and dealt with the salient features of Capitalist Society, showing how both men and the works of man are wasted through the useless activity in which many of us are engaged in pursuit of our daily bread, and the wealth of highly complex machinery that is made for the sole purpose of destruction and being destroyed; how although many people are pain-

fully aware of social problems, they know of no real solutions and are bailed at every turn by the obstacles that Capitalism puts in the way of their efforts. The working class, Comrade Atkinson went on, are still looking to leadership and reformism which (as in the past) would only help to confuse the issue of Socialism.

Comrade Cook followed with a review of working class attitudes to the future, and was not entirely convinced that they really wanted a future worth living for; that in general the prospects seemed so black that they preferred not to look beyond the present. Some workers had abandoned conventional politics as a means towards dealing with their problems and had concentrated on such forms of protest as the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. He then showed how Capitalism poisons human relationships and isolates people, causing immense unseen misery. People are now also looking for something to be *pro*, and were tired of being just *anti*, he said. Meanwhile, our supreme problem is to find the most effective methods of presenting the Socialist case. The meeting was well received, but it merited a far larger attendance.

* * *

May Day in London

DESPITE the unfortunately bad weather on Sunday, May 1st, the Party held successful meetings in Hyde Park. Comrades Ambridge, Grant, D'Arcy and Young were in turn on the main platform throughout the afternoon and Paddington Branch had a platform at Speakers' Corner, where several comrades addressed an interested audience. Both meetings were well supported by members and good literature sales were reported. These meetings closed down at 6 p.m. in order to enable people to get to Denison House, where a good meeting was held. The title was "Workers of the World Unite" and Comrades D'Arcy and Wilson were the speakers.

* * *

May Day in Glasgow

GLASGOW CITY & KELVINGROVE Branches organised one of the most successful May Days in Glasgow for many years. The afternoon meeting in Queens Park Recreation Ground attracted an audience of over 300 who gave 45/- in collection, and more important, a very sympathetic hearing to the case for Scientific Socialism. In the main park of course a somewhat denser audience was listening to the case for Capitalism but even they were subjected to Socialist propaganda as a group of comrades took the

opportunity to sell *Standards* and pamphlets. The evening meeting in the Cosmo Cinema produced an audience of 150 and although we had hoped for a larger audience in view of the amount of effort and expense incurred it was generally agreed that the audience were very much impressed by our case as presented by Comrade C. May of Paddington. We would like to thank all comrades and sympathisers who donated to our Special May Day fund for making it possible, after a lapse of many years, to book the Cosmo Cinema as we feel sure a continuation of May Day meetings at this venue will increase our support in Glasgow. The over all literature sales for the day were almost £7 and all the *Standards* ordered, 16 dozen, were sold. All contacts in Glasgow are invited along to our outdoor meetings which are advertised elsewhere in this issue.

* * *

Lewisham

LEWISHAM BRANCH is continuing Thursday evening lectures during June and July. The first on Monday, June 13th, is on the American Revolution and the speaker—Comrade C. Wilson. On June 27th, July 11th and 18th, Comrade Hardy is giving a series of three lectures on "The Economics and Finances of Modern-Day Capitalism." All the lectures commence at 8.15 p.m. and Branch members are happy to welcome visitors.

* * *

Albert Williams

We regret to report the death of Comrade Albert Williams who died on May 2nd. A Party member for forty years, Comrade Williams used to speak for the Party, and was an active member until his health failed. As a member of Central Branch Comrade Williams continued to show great interest in the cause for Socialism. Party members would wish to express their sympathy to the relatives of Comrade Williams.

P. H.

"Only when industry and transport etc, are owned and democratically controlled by the whole community can service to the whole community be a reality. Nationalisation or State Capitalism is not the solution to the problem"

SOCIALISM OR NATIONALISATION (1/-)

The Passing Show

Concentration Camps

THERE may be some people who still believe, in face of the mounting evidence, that the last war was fought to defend democracy and freedom. If so, they might care to ponder these facts. In 1945 the Allies (Britain, the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., and so on) won the Second World War—at the cost of much sacrifice and suffering on the part of their respective working classes. They had the world at their feet. If they had really fought the war for freedom, then freedom would have been assured for all the world's people, throughout the foreseeable future.

And what in fact happened? A prominent French medical expert, Professor Charles Richet of Paris, gave some figures on April 29th in a speech at an Oslo conference organised by the World Veteran's Federation. In 1945, he said, there were twelve million people in concentration camps throughout the world. But what about 1960—after fifteen years in which the victorious Allies, who fought for "freedom," have in effect ruled the world between them? According to Professor Richet's estimate, there are now more than twice as many people in concentration camps as there were in 1945: twenty-five millions of them. These twenty-five million people might have their own opinion on the question of whether the Allies really fought to make the world safe for freedom.

Greatly put out

To turn to some of those at the other end of society, there were reports of annoyance in Buckingham Palace circles when, a week before Princess Margaret's wedding, a New York paper published what was alleged to be a sketch of the wedding dress. This led to some reminiscence in the papers about previous occasions when this had happened. *The Observer* (1/5/10) said:

In 1937 a morning newspaper printed a detailed description of a Hartnell dress that Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother (then the Queen) was to wear the same evening at a State banquet in honour of King Carol of Rumania. It was made of pearl grey satin and embroidered with silver, pearls and amethysts.

King George VI was greatly put out,

the dress was thrown away and Mr. Hartnell had to apologise.

Some people are fond of saying that the working class is now prosperous. If the workers are now prosperous, what adjective must be used to describe people who can afford to throw away a dress embroidered with silver, pearls and amethysts simply because a picture of it has appeared in a newspaper?

Mercenaries

HAROLD HUTCHINSON, the *Daily Herald's* political commentator, comes up with some strange ideas from time to time. In the *Herald* of May 7th he attacks those people in the Labour Party who dare to advocate ideas which Mr. Gaitskell doesn't agree with, and says "The only people who can determine policy are the people who have to carry it out." He goes on: "At present, minorities in the Labour Party can exert power without responsibility, and virtually treat the leaders of the Party in Parliament as mercenaries who take orders."

How terrible, Mr. Hutchinson! How degrading it would be if the leaders of the party had to do what the party wanted, instead of the party doing what the leaders wanted!

Mr. Gaitskell has not repudiated these opinions of his henchman. So if ever you feel tempted to vote Labour, remember Mr. Hutchinson's view that "the only people who can determine policy" are the leaders—"the people who have to carry it out": and then ask yourself if this is your idea of democracy.

Some more Socialists?

How topsy-turvy can politics get? Here is a quotation from the *Daily Mail* (28/4/60):

A spokesman in Seoul for Dr. Rhee's Liberal Party (now leaderless) said today it planned to change its name to the "Democratic Socialist Party"—but it would remain Conservative.

One hopes this paragraph will be read by all those who tell Socialists that we should support other parties (whatever their policies are) merely because they claim to be Socialist.

A. W. F.



Socialist Party OF GREAT BRITAIN

OBJECT

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

1) That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

2) That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

3) That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

4) That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

5) That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

6) That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

7) That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

8) The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

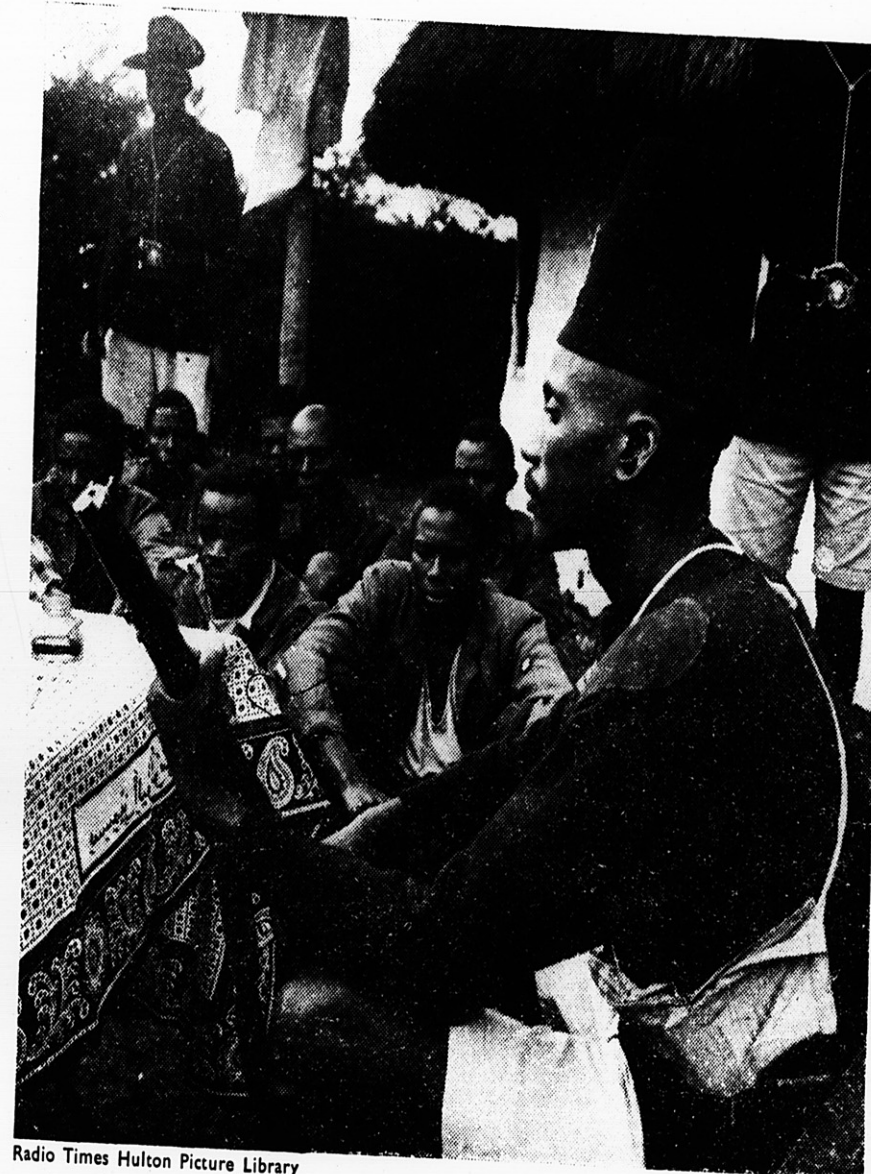
Those agreeing with the above principles and desire enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

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**SOCIALIST
STANDARD**

JULY 1960

Mau Mau Report



Radio Times Hulton Picture Library

Mau Mau suspects awaiting interrogation in Kenya (1952). "Mau Mau arose inevitably from the indignities, injustice and poverty imposed on the Africans by European settlers, who were interested only in destroying their social organisation in order to make them servants and labourers."

ADOLF EICHMANN

NEW CHINA

SOUTH AFRICA

TELEVISION

NATIONALISATION

JAPAN

JOURNAL OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

BRANCHES

Visitors are cordially invited to every meeting

BASILDON. Thursdays 7.30 p.m., Craylands County Secondary School, Basildon. Correspondence: R. H. Bowie, Cranford, Basil Drive, Laindon, Essex.

BIRMINGHAM. Thursdays 8 p.m., "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month. Enquiries to H. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road, Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.

BLOOMSBURY. 1st and 3rd Thursdays (July 7 and 21) in month 7.30 p.m. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

BRADFORD & DISTRICT. Correspondence: Peter Hall, 10 Spring Grove Terrace, Leeds 6. Tel.: Bradford 71904 any time.

CAMBERWELL. Mondays 8 p.m., 52 Clapham High St., S.W.4. Correspondence: H. Baldwin, 334 South Lambeth Road, Stockwell, S.W.8.

DARTFORD. 1st Friday (July 1st) at 8 p.m., 7 Cyril Road, Bexleyheath. (Kipling 1796), 3rd Friday (July 15th) at 8 p.m., 32, Ickleton Road, Mottingham, S.E.9. Correspondence: W. G. Catt at above latter address.

EALING. Fridays 8 p.m., Memorial Hall, Windsor Rd., Ealing (nr. Broadway). Correspondence: E. T. Critchfield, 48 Balfour Road, W.13.

ECCELES. 2nd Friday (July 8) in month, 7.30 p.m., 5 Gaskell Road, Eccles. Correspondence: F. Lea at above address.

FULHAM & CHELSEA. 1st and 3rd Thursdays (July 7 discussion and 21 business) in month 8 p.m., "Kings Head", 4 Fulham High Street, S.W.6. (nr. Putney Bridge). Correspondence: L. Cox, 22 Victoria House, Ebury Bridge Rd. SW1. Tel. SLO 5258.

HAMPSTEAD. 2nd and 4th Mondays (July 11 and 25) in month 8.30 p.m., Watling Community Centre, Orange Hill Road, Burnt Oak, Edgware. Correspondence: H. Young, 130 Hayling Road, Oxhey, Watford.

GLASGOW (City). Alternate Wednesdays (June 8 and 22) 8 p.m. Religious Institute Rooms, 200 Buchanan Street, C.1. Correspondence: T. A. Mulheron, 366 Aikenhead Road, Glasgow, S.2.

GLASGOW (Kelvingrove). Alternate Mondays (July 4 and 18) 8 p.m., Partickburgh Halls, Partick. Correspondence: R. Donnelly, 50 Doncaster Street, Glasgow, N.W.

HACKNEY. Wednesdays 7.30 p.m., Bethnal Green Town Hall, Room 3 (Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: S. Beck, 28, Pathenton Road, N.5.

ISLINGTON. Thursdays 8 p.m., Co-op. Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N.7. Lecture or discussion after business. Correspondence: R. E. Carr, SPGB, c/o above address.

KINGSTON-upon-THAMES. Correspondence: Secretary, 3, Dallington Court, Burhill Road, Merstham, Surrey.

LEWISHAM. Mondays 8 p.m., Co-op. Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, S.E.6. Correspondence: P. Hart, 22 Gt. Elms Road, Bromley. Tel.: Rav 7811.

NOTTINGHAM. Wednesdays 7.30 p.m., Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street. Correspondence: Secretary, R. Powe, 8 Swains Avenue, Carlton Road.

PADDINGTON. Wednesdays 8.30 p.m., "The Olive Branch," Crawford Street, W.1. (corner Homer Street, nr. Marylebone Road). Discussions after business. Correspondence: C. May, 1 Hanover Road, N.W.10.

SOUTHEND. 1st Tuesday (July 5) 19, Kingswood Chase, Leigh-on-Sea; 3rd Tuesday (July 19), 17 Cotswold Road, Westcliff-on-Sea; in each month, 7.30 p.m. Correspondence: Dick Jacobs, at above latter address.

WEST HAM. 2nd & 4th Thursdays (July 14 & 28), Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E.12. Discussions from 9 p.m. Correspondence: D. Deutz, 80 Bawdsey Ave., Ilford, Essex.

WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY. Fridays 7.30 p.m., 146 Inderwick Road, Hornsey, N.8 (41 bus to Tottenham Lane, nr. "Hope & Anchor"). Correspondence: Secretary, at above address.

WOOLWICH. 2nd and 4th Fridays (July 8 and 22) in month, 7.30 p.m., Town Social Club, Mason's Hill, S.E.18. Discussions at 8 p.m. Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens, Eltham, S.E.9.

DISCUSSION AND STUDY GROUPS

BRISTOL. Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Backfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2. Tel.: 24680.

CHELTEMHAM. Enquiries: Ken Smith, 338 Swindon Road.

DORKING & DISTRICT. Enquiries: O.C. Iles, "Ashleigh" Townfield Rd., Dorking.

MANCHESTER. Enquiries: J. M. Breakey, 2 Dennison Avenue, Manchester 20. Tel.: Did 5709.

MITCHAM & DISTRICT. Tuesday (July 19), 8 p.m., "White Hart," Mitcham Cricket Green. Enquiries: T. Lord, 288 Church Road, Mitcham.

NEWPORT & DISTRICT. Meetings at: Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport (Details advertised in *South Wales Argus*). Enquiries: M. Harris, 26, Oakfield Road, Lightwood, Cwmbran, nr. Newport, Mon.

OLDHAM. Wednesdays 7.30 p.m., 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees, at above address. Tel.: Mai 5165.

REDHILL. Enquiries: A. A. Kemp, 19 Ashcombe Rd., Merstham, Redhill, Surrey.

SUSSEX. Enquiries: W. Craske, "Hazelcroft," Green Road, Wivelsfield Green, Sussex.

SWANSEA. Enquiries: V. Brain, 17 Brynawellon, Penarth, Glam.

MEETINGS

ISLINGTON DISCUSSION

LEWISHAM LECTURES

Mondays 8.15 pm, Davenport Rd., Rushey Green, Catford, S.E.6.

Economics of Modern Capitalism
Lecturer E. Hardy

July 11th
July 18th

PADDINGTON LECTURES

Wednesday 8.30 p.m., The Olive Branch, Crawford St., W.1

LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS

Sundays Hyde Park 3.30 pm & 7 pm
East Street, Walworth
July 3rd (1 pm)
July 10th & 24th (noon)
July 11th & 31st (11 am)

Beresford Square, Woolwich 8 pm

Thursdays Tower Hill 12.30-2 pm

Earls Court 8 pm
Gloucester Road 8 pm

Saturdays Rushcroft Road, Brixton 8 pm
Hyde Park 7.30

GLASGOW OUTDOOR MEETINGS

Saturdays Royal Exchange Square 3 pm
(off Queen Street)

Sundays West Regent Street 7.30 pm
(outside Odcon Cinema)

PARTY NOTICES

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the SPGB Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4, at 7.30 p.m.

ORDERS for literature should be sent to the Literature Department, SPGB, at the above address.

CORRESPONDENCE for the Executive Committee should be sent to the General Secretary, SPGB, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4. (Telephone: Macaulay 3811).

LETTERS containing postal orders, etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, SPGB, at the above address. Postal orders and cheques should be crossed and made payable to the SPGB.

SOCIALIST
STANDARD

JULY 1960

JOURNAL OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

No. 671, VOL. 56

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ignorance of the working class everywhere. It is absurd to blame one man, when he is only the instrument of a policy supported by millions.

After a war, the defeated leaders are vilified, some imprisoned and others executed. The victorious leaders are enshrined as heroes. It is fortunate for the leaders of the 1939-45 Allies that no cloak-and-dagger men are hunting for them. They, too, are responsible for terrible slaughter. President Truman gave the orders for the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Churchill, Attlee and Stalin supported this atrocity. In Hiroshima alone, 80,000 people were incinerated in a flash and hundreds more have since died—and are still dying—from various causes. Thousands of Germans were killed in the bombing of Hamburg and in the destruction of Dresden.

These are the vicious conditions which make possible the race hater and the mass exterminator. Although tens of millions of people have been butchered in the last two great wars, the world is not safe. The fear of war is still with us. Nowadays, many nations have vast armaments poised in readiness to exterminate each other. How many future Eichmanns wait to stalk upon the scene?

If only workers would find out why all this madness takes place! War is caused by the struggles between national capitalist Powers over markets and economic

EICHMANN: Who is Responsible?

resources. This can only be cured by the abolition of capitalism. As long as workers support this system, so will they be vulnerable to the racial theorist who, on nationalist grounds, gets support for his programme of mass murder. The dictators of yesterday, and the dictators and leaders of today, with their frightening military machines, only reflect the preparedness of their workers to ignore the bloodshed of two world wars and still to die for capitalism.

It is futile to punish an individual whilst ignoring the vicious conditions which made him possible. Eichmann was involved in some terrible things—but the exterminations which he so methodically organised are only a part of the greatest atrocity of all—the capitalist system of society. As the movement for a classless world—for Socialism—takes root and spreads, so will the possibility of inhuman murderers like Adolf Eichmann decline and die.

It is impossible to condemn too strongly the terrible brutality of the killing of millions of people. Jews and others, of which Adolf Eichmann is accused. The majority of people have reacted to the press reports with a demand for his punishment. Learning of Eichmann's deeds, they take the short-sighted view that to deal with him as an individual is enough. But Eichmann is the end product of a vast process; he arose from the inhuman conditions of capitalist society. The very people who condemn him are content to leave those conditions untouched.

The working class, not only in Nazi Germany but in post-war Germany—and throughout the world—blindly support capitalism. None of them can escape responsibility for the consequences. For the power wielded by the rulers of world capitalism is a reflection of the political

News in Review

Collapse at The Summit

THE assembling of the Big Four for the Summit meeting in Paris contained all the essentials for great tragi-comedy, except the happy ending. Summit meetings may yet replace the circus as "the greatest show on earth." Publicity arrangements on a world scale preceded the actual meeting for some years. The "Summit" has dominated the headlines of the world's press. Millions of words have poured out from lengthy articles under banner headlines, speculating on the date and interpreting the significance of statements made by politicians and Government officials. And so at last three thousand journalists congregated in Paris to report the discussions of four individuals who, it is said, between them can and will adjust the barometer of world tension. With the stage set and the audience breathless, the principal actors took the stage. The so-called "main problems" of disarmament, Berlin and the continued division of Germany were now, it was said, to be seriously tackled. But unfortunately the final curtain came down on the overtone. By the old process of mutual abuse, charge and counter-charge, the meeting quickly degenerated. Suddenly nothing had happened.

There will never be anything so futile in the tackling of social problems as the holding of summit meetings. Such meetings only serve to increase the personal prestige of the politicians who attend them and persuade ordinary working people that honest attempts are being made to stem the threat of war. From any government's point of view, there is nothing that a summit meeting could accomplish that the regularised channels of diplomacy could not accomplish equally as well. All such conferences, even where politicians do succeed in getting together, entirely by-pass the everyday problems of working people. Their whole scope and function is irrelevant to the real and pressing issues of modern society, issues that the working class itself must come to grips with.

Turkey

WHEN Menderes, the Turkish Prime Minister, survived the air disaster at Gat-

wick, he was acclaimed by the faithful as a saint and a prophet. From the recent events in Turkey, it would appear that the legend is taking some hard knocks. For more than ten years this dictator has used every known method to maintain power. He is himself a big landowner in the west of Turkey—an area in which indescribable poverty is the lot of the Anatolian peasants. We can wonder how it is that the dictatorial regime has survived for ten years. Part of the answer is that the majority of Turks, who are still attached to the Muslim faith worshipped Menderes because of his religious fervour. One interpretation of the cause of the crisis was that it was the work of a small clique inflamed by grudges and ambition. Menderes himself blamed "a handful of youths exploited by certain groups for their selfish political aims."

Crises are not caused by the evil machinations of individuals; they have their root cause in the way a society is organised. The importance of Turkey in world politics rests partly on the control of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus. Astronomical amounts of American dollars have been spent in building up Turkey as another "Western bastion of democracy"! Half the Turkish budget is devoted to defence. These measures, coupled with large agricultural credits, have produced the inevitable economic crises which are part and parcel of the capitalist system everywhere. The new Head of State, General Gursel, is described as a Turkish Nuguib in search of a Nasser. He has announced that it would be for the next Government to decide whether to put Menderes and his Cabinet on trial. Whatever the outcome, the Turkish working class can look forward to another round of capitalist intrigue and unfulfilled promises.

Eichmann

THE news that Adolf Eichmann, a former Gestapo chief, has been captured by Israeli agents, was splashed across the front pages with all the gusto of editors recognizing the sales power of cheap sensationalism. A man-hunt successfully concluded after 15 years, with the quarry a miserable survivor of the Nazi regime, is the sort of titbit that the profit-seeking

press can dress up to satisfy the appetites of those who seek cheap thrills in their reading.

To Socialists, the capture of Eichmann in itself is of no importance. The inhumanities which man inflicts upon man are not the actions of people who were born monsters, but rather the consequence of inhuman policies and doctrines which a monstrous system conditions human beings into accepting as answers to its economic and political problems. Eichmann was a product of German capitalism which made a scapegoat of the Jews for the failure of Germany to win the 1914-18 war and for the mass unemployment which followed. The massacre of the six million attributed to him was not the work of one "evil genius." History cannot be so simply explained. But there is significance in the fact that Eichmann is to be given a mockery of a "trial." What a perversion of the name justice it is which allows the victors in the 1939-45 blood-bath, in which mass murder was committed by both sides, to condemn the leaders of the conquered for the same crimes they perpetrated themselves.

Red Blood

THE South African Government has recently published regulations to come into force on 1st September under which "white" and "non-white" blood will be segregated to ensure that as far as possible whites and non-whites will receive blood from white and non-white donors respectively. This segregation of blood has in fact been in practice in South Africa for some years, although blood plasma imported from America was not segregated. The exponents of apartheid claim that the Africans are biologically different to the whites in being "inherently backward" and it seems that they think Africans' blood is different too. Blood from human beings cannot, of course, be identified as to the colour of skin of its donor, but only by its various groupings, A, O, Rhesus, etc. Some biologists have even stated that the blood of some types of gorilla and human beings is interchangeable. This new regulation is another example of the blind prejudice of the South African Government in its policy of apartheid.

Misdirected Energy

ON May 21st, sixteen cannibals were sentenced to death in Wewak, New Guinea, for killing, cooking and eating three men, and kidnapping eight women. After lecturing the men, who spent most of the time dozing on the courtroom floor, the judge said that because the raid was a "social and economic one with the dual purpose of providing wives and flesh," he would make strong recommendations for mercy, and suggested a training programme for the convicted men. In prison they will no doubt be put through a rigorous rehabilitation programme. They will be lectured on the error of their ways and taught how to conform to the moral standards of modern civilisation. Perhaps they might even become so civilised they may be allowed to join the army and do the capitalists' dirty work for them. Queen's Regulations will not, of course, permit them to consume their victims, but they will be able to kill with the approval of the law, the blessing of the church, and if they do really well, they may even become national heroes.

Wyatt Sees the Light

EVERYTHING happens finally, if only one can wait long enough for it. This is one reflection that springs to mind after the attack made by Mr. Woodrow Wyatt, right-wing Labour M.P., on the big unions' block vote as undemocratic. This has been obvious for years, of course—to all except Mr. Wyatt and his right-wing Labour friends. No complaint was

ever heard from them about the block vote, so long as the big unions with dog-like devotion regularly swung all their millions of votes behind the Labour leadership. But now that the man who wields the block vote of the Transport and General Workers' Union, Mr. Frank Cousins, has clashed with Mr. Gaitskell over defence policy, a great light has broken in on Mr. Wyatt's mind. With cries of astonishment, he announces as a new discovery what everyone else had been pointing out for years. Still, one must be grateful that Mr. Wyatt has seen the obvious, even at this late stage.

But Mr. Wyatt's revelations only extend so far as Mr. Cousins. Not a word has come from him about the second largest of the giant unions, whose leader, Sir Thomas Williamson, is a supporter of Mr. Gaitskell, and who recalled the annual conference of his union because they had voted the wrong way the first time. But we must wait. If Sir Thomas is replaced by a leader who disagrees with Mr. Gaitskell, Mr. Wyatt may discover another "arrogant bully with a block vote" (which is the way he now describes Mr. Cousins).

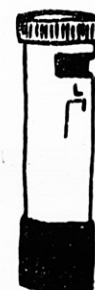
As for the left-wing of the Labour Party, who have been denouncing the block vote of the unions throughout the time it was automatically used against them, they have become strangely silent. The block vote used against them, and the block vote used by Mr. Cousins in their favour, are apparently two quite different things. How circumstances alter cases, even to the extent of turning democracy into bullying, or bullying into democracy!

The Rockefellers

ON the 11th of May there died in Tucson, Arizona, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., son of that notable father, John D. Snr., a man well-known in the early American capitalist era as one of the Robber Barons, with a finger in many pies—coal, iron ore, but chiefly remembered for his control of Standard Oil (New Jersey). In fact, according to Victor Perle in his book *American Imperialism*, in 1949 Standard Oil handled one-fifth of the oil produced in the western hemisphere, and its marketing areas covered countries in which some 72 per cent. of the world's population resided. The control of oil throughout the western world is in the hands of

seven oil trusts, of which Rockefellers control three.

But the Rockefellers, according to the obituaries of "Junior," were noted for their "beneficence." It is reputed that between them they gave away some £350 million, and were still able to leave, as reports have shown, £200 millions (senior) and £150 millions (junior). These are staggering sums of money. And "Junior's" will make no mention of any settlement for his six children and their various offspring, so it must be presumed that they have been well provided for. Some readers may say, but at least they gave some away, for the *Daily Telegraph*, May 12th, reports that



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"He devoted himself to furthering the schemes for human betterment initiated by his father after establishing his fortune." What from our point of view is important, however, is to whom it was given and why. Part of the answer to the first point is contained in the *Telegraph* of the 12th. "Educational Organisations benefitted the most." It seems highly probable that Marxian economics and the Labour Theory of Value plays no significant part in these "Educational Organisations," for remember, education as taught today is primarily to fit workers into the productive and administrative organisation of capitalism and not to teach them Socialism.

Next comes "Religion," another barrier to working class emancipation. Then "Public Parks, Roads, and the restoration and historic structures and antiquities." No doubt the workers of the slum dwellings of all the major cities in the U.S.A. will appreciate that they can walk in the parks and pray in a well-restored church. Lastly, "Great sums to youth." How this was distributed

was not mentioned, but it is unlikely that these funds were used to propagate Socialist ideas. They were obviously spent to eulogise and bolster the capitalist system.

So, as commendable as some people may think was his "beneficence," it is interesting to note that the people from whom this wealth was expropriated, his own workers, received little or nothing of what was rightfully theirs. Why he gave away these vast sums of money is a matter of some conjecture. One reason surely was to avoid taxation, but possibly also to buy immortality.

Socialists hope that in the not too distant future, people will see these so-called philanthropists in their true light—of leeches who grow fat on the mental and physical energies of the working class. Although "Junior" is dead, the Rockefeller Empire will continue, for neither father, son nor children ever took part in the production of things for use. At least it will continue to flourish until workers decide to own and distribute the fruits of their labour themselves.

J. P. E.

House Journals

NEWSPAPERS and magazines, like every other commodity under capitalism, are produced primarily for profit. But there is one type of publication which capitalists are quite content to run at a loss. That is the house journal—a company's own organ, specially designed for its workers and sometimes also for its trade customers. According to the current issue of the *Newspaper Press Directory*, there are today in Britain no fewer than 642, of which more than 250 were launched last year. And by the end of 1960, despite mounting production costs,

the number is expected to top 800.

House journals demand heavy, continuous subsidies. That is why only the bigger capitalist organisations are prepared to publish them. For unlike the national and provincial press, they reap no large advertising revenues. Even those which carry advertisements, at purely nominal rates, far from cover themselves. Unlike their big brothers in Fleet Street, their circulations can be counted in thousands. A few publish weekly, but the vast majority appear monthly or quarterly. Given away or sold for a penny or two, they are either distributed in the factory or mailed direct to the worker's home so that Mum and the kids can read them as well.

Until recent years, most house journals were the work of enthusiastic amateurs—personnel officers, social and sports club secretaries, or sales promotion managers with a bent for journalism. Their pages were packed with a stream of sentimental slush about the boss and "puffs" about his products. Issue after issue, with nauseating regularity, carried pictures of a beaming chairman addressing the annual staff dinner ("We must all pull together,

chaps"), or of a director's wife, distributing Sports Day trophies to the "lower orders," or of Bill Bloggs receiving his reward for half a century of "loyal and faithful" service to capitalism—an oak-cased clock.

Now many firms have begun to realise that the house journal can be forged into a more effective propaganda weapon. To a nation fed on the slick, streamlined mass-circulation daily newspapers and television, the old, sycophantic "God Bless the Boss" approach is as out-dated as a belief in the divine right of kings. So the professional publicist, the Public Relations officer, with an "understanding" of the masses, is being brought in to give the house journal a new, dynamic personality. Imitating the giant national daily newspapers, he dispenses the propaganda in potent, but subtle, doses—through brightly-written news stories, eye-catching pictures, arresting headlines and attractive make-up.

Why does Big Business, notorious for its opposition to wage increases, lavish so much money on its own publications, sometimes to the tune of £20,000 a year or more? Socialists know full well that capitalists do not play Santa Claus; that there is a sound commercial reason for any philanthropic front. House journals are no exception.

Their rapid rise is due to two major factors:

First, a growing acceptance by business chiefs of the theory that a happy worker makes a more productive worker.

Second, a growing interest by workers in the activities of the organisation which employs them.

For years, industrial psychologists have, in the name of greater efficiency, called for better staff relations. "Give the workers a sense of belonging," "Make the men feel the boss really cares" and other similar pleas have been dinned into the ears of top management. The house journal can help to create "a happy family atmosphere" in the factory, with its prospects of greater surplus value. This is particularly important where frequent labour disputes cause havoc with production, and where employers find it difficult to attract or retain workers.

Similarly, more and more firms are concerned to "sell" themselves to their workers and customers. Company affairs are coming under a stronger spotlight from the mass-communication media. The beam rarely reveals the nature of capitalist exploitation, but it is bright enough to illuminate many interesting aspects of management. As a result of this development, capitalists are being

forced to pay increasing attention to public criticism. The house journal makes a useful platform for justifying attitudes and actions. For example, many of these journals carry from time to time charts and diagrams, seeking to prove that the shareholders, not the workers who produce all wealth, are the poor relations of industry. To study some of them, one would think that if dividends dropped any lower, the capitalists would be signing on at the Labour Exchanges.

But large or small, well or badly produced, free or sold cheaply, all house journals are alike in one essential re-

spect—they are the voice of the boss. As one of Britain's leading P.R.O.'s reminded the 1958 Conference of House Journal Editors: "Few house journals are 'steeped in liberty.' Yours, let us face it, is not a free press, but a controlled one, subject to the dictates of top management." Workers should never forget that the basic purpose of the house journal is to strengthen support for an individual capitalist concern. And as such, it helps to project the capitalist rat-race as the best possible, indeed the only workable, social system.

P. R. O.

JAPAN

Hagerty in Tokio

MR. JAMES HAGERTY, President Eisenhower's press secretary, had to flee by helicopter from a crowd of six thousand Japanese students who mobbed his car and battered at the windows. Mr. Hagerty had landed at Tokio airport to arrange the details of President Eisenhower's visit to Japan. The incident underlines the falsity of some of the propaganda that the ruling class serves out to us in time of war. In the last war all the American and British organs of propaganda repeated *ad nauseam* that the Japanese were inherently militaristic; their very nature, we were told, made them warlike and aggressive. At the end of the war the Americans insisted

that a clause be written into the new Japanese constitution renouncing forever the right of the Japanese to establish again their armed forces. But soon the Americans decided that the real enemy in the Far East was not Japan, but Russia; and that Japan in fact would be a useful ally. So then the Americans insisted, against the opposition of many Japanese, that the "renunciation" clause in the Japanese constitution be scrapped, and that Japan should again set up her army, navy and air force. Now the Americans have pushed through a new military alliance with Japan. If the propaganda had been true, this would have suited the "inherently militaristic" Japanese down to the ground. But large numbers of Japanese are strenuously resisting the new alliance, even to the extent of rioting against Hagerty and threatening to riot against Eisenhower. Some of the opposition, no doubt, comes from those who would rather see Japan allied to China and Russia than to America; but many Japanese wish to avoid all militaristic alliances altogether, because they think they bring with them the risk of involvement in a new world war. We are now concerned whether it is possible for Japan to stand apart from the two great camps in the world as it is today: the important point is that such a policy commands widespread support from the Japanese people. Clearly, the theory of the "inherent militarism" of the Japanese will have to be abandoned. Events have, in fact, revealed yet more of our rulers' propaganda as lies.

A. W. F.

SCHOOLS TO-DAY

What's happening to the Schools?

The Socialist Party's recent pamphlet explains the basic reasons for the changes in modern education

6d.



Socialist Party OF GREAT BRITAIN

OBJECT

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

1) That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

2) That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

3) That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

4) That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

5) That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

6) That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocracy and plutocracy.

7) That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

8) The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

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KENYA

Report on Mau Mau

THE *Historical Survey of the Origins and Growth of Mau Mau*, carried out by Mr. F. D. Corfield, has now been issued as a Government Blue Book. It contains the following statistics of casualties up to the end of 1956.

Terrorists: Killed 11,503. Captured wounded 1,035. Captured in action 1,550. Arrested 26,625. Surrendered 2,714.

Security Forces: Killed 167. Wounded 1,582.

Loyal Civilians: Killed 1,877 (including 32 Europeans). Wounded 978.

The cost of the emergency up to June 30th, 1959, is shown as £55,585,424. Before the massive technical and numerical superiority of the British Government Security Forces finally overwhelmed this African uprising, all the violent measures of ruthless repression were called into use, even down to interrogation under torture and the hangman busy in the concentration camp.

Mr. F. D. Corfield, who is a former Governor of Khartum Province, has produced a report which points a sanctimonious finger of blame at almost everyone except the British Government and

the narrow interests that they represent. As an apology for the British Government, as a self righteous justification that might confuse and misdirect, the Corfield Report does a serviceable job. But as an objective historical account of the cause and development of a particularly ugly piece of human history the report is useless and in every way unworthy of its title.

The main contention of the report is that leading Africans, and in particular Jomo Kenyatta, encouraged by sympathy from many outside sources, and unwittingly aided by the facilities provided by a "liberal" government, perpetuated rebellion as a manifestation of their personal malevolence. The report says, "Without the freedom afforded them by a liberal government, Jomo Kenyatta and his associates would have been unable to preach their calculated hymn of hate." Mr. Corfield is completely convinced that the government of Kenya was pre-occupied with "... the material progress of the peoples of Kenya." He says, "One has only to read the annual reports of the provincial commissioners to realise the immense efforts made by officials and unofficials to raise the material and moral welfare of the Africans."

These are the terms in which the report ignores the naked and cruel self interest of the white landowners' mission in East Africa. For a rational society of controlled purpose to be confronted by a primitive social grouping over which it held immense technical superiority would involve problems of a most delicate sociological nature. Its approach would be by scientific procedures, its motives would be humanistic. But when the envoys of European propertied society landed in East Africa to preach the Gospel of Self Interest and predatory exploitation they were interested only in smashing the social organisation of the African inhabitants and making them servants and labourers. Here surely was the bed rock basis of Mau Mau violence. Mau Mau, though loathsome in form, arose inevitably from the indignities, the injustice and the sheer primary poverty of the African's plight. This is well known and the evidence for it is even contained in the government's own Colonial Publications. In contrast with

the hypocritical Corfield report the *African Labour Efficiency Survey*, 1949 (Colonial Research Publications, No. 3) is a realistic appraisal of the problem of making the African a more efficient and productive wage worker.

In viewing the East African situation (in 1947) it says, "The East African comes from a tribal economy in which his human needs of sustenance can still very largely be met. . . . He has not, to any significant degree, been de-tribalised. . . . The East African has not been bent under the discipline of organised work. In his primitive economy, the steady, continuous labour is carried out by women. In respect of the few working activities which in the past occupied him he was free and independent. Though the tasks he performed were prescribed by tribal law and custom, he could do them in his own way and at his own speed, for him time had no economic value. The work he did for others was not for wages, but was one of the duties arising out of his relationship with his fellows. He gave satisfaction by his work and he derived a measure of contentment from it. In these circumstances he was willing to do what was required of him. To work steadily and continuously at the will of another was one of the hard lessons he had to learn when he began to work for Europeans."

Even so, the report reveals the positive measures taken by the Kenya Government to coerce Africans into seeking wage employment. In the first instance the Kikuyu and other East African tribes were enclosed within small reserve areas which to an agricultural people was disastrous. In the terms of the report, South Nyeri, one of the three component districts comprising the Kikuyu reserved lands, had a population estimated in 1944 to be 542 to the square mile. This population density is probably among the highest in the world. As well as this the Government instituted a hut tax and poll tax, payable only directly in cash. Thus within two simple but brutal measures the authorities began to reduce the African from a dignified tribesman with a stake in his community to a dispossessed wage worker forced into white landowners' service or into industrial undertakings.

The report dwells in some detail on many reasons for the African workers' so-called inefficiency, including lack of education and poverty. It says, "Perhaps in some respects the greatest handicap is physical and arises from malnutrition." On the question of wages this report is equally forthright, "... it is clear that the wage plan does not ensure wages adequate to enable an African residing in any one of the towns of East Africa to bring up a family." Again: "It is therefore with more confidence that the whole survey team, including the medical and nutritional investigators, record their reasoned observation that they found much discontent concerning wages in relation to cost of living."

Apart from laying bare the ruthlessness of British Colonial policy, even in modern times, the report contained a dis-

quieting warning. Quoting a doctor who lived in East Africa for two decades it said "A doctor . . . can assert that the cause of the poor work output is more mental than physical. Malnutrition and disease play their part but, sitting and talking with the workers in their homes, one became aware of a very grave discontent which, unless constructively guided and relieved, may well threaten the civil peace."

It was the violent repression that Mau Mau provoked that enabled British interests to finally destroy the Kikuyu and other tribal structures. The way is now clear for the rapid conversion of East Africans into wage workers. Mau Mau retaliation was bloody and horrible, primitive political struggles often are, but undoubtedly British colonial policy first provoked the violence.

P. LAWRENCE.

NATIONALISATION

Civil Service Pay

In the course of years quite a number of Royal Commissions and Committees of Inquiry have made recommendations about civil service pay and the principles by which it should be fixed. The last was the Civil Service Royal Commission of 1953-1955, which laid down guidance for fixing the pay of Post Office workers and other civil servants on the basis of "fair comparison" with the pay of outside workers doing comparable work. Several civil service unions have already voiced disappointment with the results of "fair comparison." They were expecting more than they have got, probably because they were counting on rates of pay as high as the top rates in outside occupations. The Royal Commission quite definitely rejected that relationship: civil service pay, they said, should be neither the highest nor the lowest for a particular job, but should be somewhere round the middle level. No government or committee of inquiry has ever accepted the principle that the Government should pay more "to set an example."

Simultaneously with arguments about civil service pay and the pay of workers on the railways and in other nationalised industries, the Labour Party is arguing with itself about nationalisation, but nobody now thinks of linking up the two questions of civil service pay and nationalisation, as was the practice when nationalisation was first being advocated as a principle by

political parties. In those days it was common for the Fabians and others to claim for national and municipal undertakings that their workers would be better paid than workers in private industry. In the *Fabian Essays* (1889) two of the writers, Annie Besant and Bernard Shaw, proposed a minimum wage for workers in municipal undertakings, high enough to be attractive to workers elsewhere. Annie Besant thought it would be "higher than any wage which could be paid by the private employer. Hence competition to enter the communal service, and a constant pressure on the Communal Councils to enlarge their undertakings." (p. 165.) The view was held by the early Fabians and other supporters of government industries, that these industries would be more efficient and could therefore afford to pay higher wages than their less efficient competitors.

Emil Davies, chairman of the Railway Nationalisation Society, in his book *The Case for Nationalisation* (1920, page 176) instanced the higher pay some of the telephone staffs received when the Government took over the telephone service from the private company in 1912. And in another book *The State in Business* (1920 edition, page 192), he claimed as a general proposition that "the moment the State or Municipality takes over a service or undertaking the conditions of the workers are immediately improved."

"Only when industry and transport etc, are owned and democratically controlled by the whole community can service to the whole community be a reality. Nationalisation or State Capitalism is not the solution to the problem"

SOCIALISM OR NATIONALISATION (11-)

He confessed that this was perhaps less true of this country than other countries and in fact there is little to support the belief that the Government and the local authorities in this country have ever worked on the principle of paying above the rate required to give them the numbers of recruits they wanted. From time to time civil service pay has got out of line and steps have been taken to correct this. In 1923, after a big fall of the cost of living and of wage rates in industry had left civil service pay rather higher than the authorities considered necessary, the Anderson Committee recommended reductions in addition to the automatic fall of pay under a cost of living bonus scheme. The special reductions were not then made because a general election intervened and the first Labour government came into office.

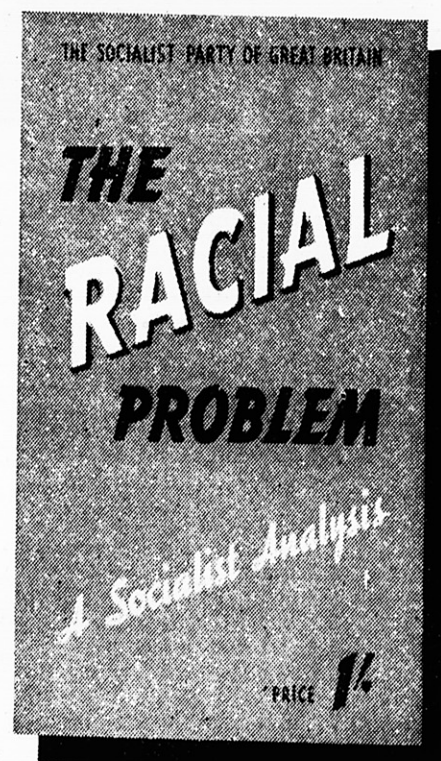
In 1957 the opposite situation had developed and Mr. Marples, Conservative Postmaster-General, was able to announce big increases of postal, telegraph and telephone charges totalling £42 million a year under cover of having to bring Post Office wages up to the level of outside wages. Now that most Labour Party opinion seems to have accepted that there will be little extension of nationalisation the prospect of civil servants ever getting a Labour Government to apply the principle of giving civil servants more than "fair comparison" with average pay outside can be put very low indeed. Imagine the Labour Party still further hampering itself in an election by pledging itself that civil servants would be paid more than other workers!

H.

North West Kent Discussion Groups

Will any readers in the Bexleyheath, Crayford, Dartford, Erith, Gravesend and Welling areas of North West Kent interested in the formation of a discussion group, communicate with H. J. Wilson, 7 Cyril Road, Bexleyheath, Kent (phone Bexleyheath 1950).

Also any readers in the Sidcup, Mottingham, Orpington, Eltham, Chislehurst areas communicate with W. G. Catt, 32, Ickleton Road, S.E.9 (Kipling 1796).



Advice for Speculators

Economic Forecasting

IN this and other countries the collection and analysis of industrial, trading and financial information has greatly increased since the war, and goes on increasing. Governments and private organisations are alike involved, but there is no likelihood at all that they are ever going to reach a degree of accuracy comparable with forecasts of tides, sunrise and eclipses.

The Observer (5-6-60) had a telling example of inability to agree, in Mr. Shonfield's column. He reported that two organisations of economists had analysed the present economic situation and made a forecast for the rest of the year. The two organisations are the National Institute of Economic and Social Research and the London and Cambridge Economic Service. Mr. Shonfield writes:—

The whole National Institute argument turns out . . . to be a statement of the reasons why the last six months or so have been a period of exceptional strain on the balance of payments, and why this is unlikely to continue. The other report, the London & Cambridge Economic Bulletin takes just the opposite point of view—that the strains are all to come.

Much of the difference in the conclusions arose from the two widely different estimates of the extent to which production this year will exceed last year's level. Mr. Shonfield, who leans to the first report thinks it may be about double the estimate made in the second report, of under 4 per cent. If estimating production levels is difficult, financial forecasting is doubly so, as can be seen from the day by day variations of city column opinions. The City Editor of the *Evening Standard* (23-4-60) opened his column with the following:—

"Business," Calvin Coolidge once said, "will be either better or worse." That's the kind of helpful advice you could have collected by the bagful in the City this week.

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But as a stock exchange operator once remarked, the secret of success for speculators does not consist in knowing what investors ought to do tomorrow if they were wise, but in knowing what foolish things they are likely to do.

World Wheat Surplus

IN an article "Problem of World Wheat Surplus Still Unsolved" *The Times* (25-5-60) summarises the first annual review by the International Wheat Council of the world wheat situation. It confirms the Socialist argument that capitalist and political interests which determine the policies of producers and governments make it impossible to achieve a world policy based on human need. Capitalism requires that products must be sold and can normally be sold only to those who can afford to pay. Even when governments, for internal reasons, would like to give away surpluses, this is strenuously opposed by other exporting countries which see their markets endangered and price levels forced down.

In brief, many governments after the war stimulated wheat production because of the then food shortage, with the result that "in North and Central America average yields per acre have more than doubled since before the war, in South America they have increased by over 70 per cent. and in Oceania by almost one-half." The governments continued the policy after the commercial need had disappeared, because, for political reasons, they wanted to help the farmers, but in the meantime consumption of wheat has been declining in the advanced countries.

The comment is that it is "impossible to avoid the conclusion that the situation giving rise to the accumulation of heavy surplus must now be accepted as a 'deep-seated and persistent problem'." Yet all the time there are millions of



people who desperately need more food but cannot afford to pay for it. The *Financial Times* (25-5-60) discussing the problem concludes that there is no solution except that of restricting output, if and when the governments can bring themselves to that politically unwelcome course.

Russian Oil

ALONG with the enormous over-development of oil production and refining and the laying up of large numbers of tankers, the oil firms now face the problem of a Russian drive to sell their surplus oil—at prices well below world levels. The *Financial Times* (30-4-60):

Last year Russia accounted for one-third of the total increase in world oil production, with output of crude, according to the latest issue of Petroleum Press Service, rising by 45m. tons to 129m. tons. Efforts have been made to increase exports, and last year about three-quarters of the 17m. tons exported outside the Soviet bloc went to Europe. Since then the sales drive has been extended, and some successes have been achieved in Japan and in Egypt. So far imports of Russian oil into the U.K. have been small, being virtually confined to lubricating oil, but her salesmen are active and it is likely that further contracts may be announced before the end of the year.

Discussions have been in progress for expanding trade between Britain and Russia and the Russians are reported to have made this dependent on the admission of large quantities of Russian oil into the British market.

H.

A May Day Address

In this article, which was published in last month's *SOCIALIST STANDARD*, the following sentence appeared: "Socialists hold that Capitalism cannot be improved for the workers." This should have read: "Socialists hold that Capitalism cannot be fundamentally improved for the workers." We apologise for this mistake.

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.

**The
WESTERN
SOCIALIST**

Big Ships v Big Jets

MORE and more of the big jets are coming into operation, whistling their pampered passengers across the world. Catch a Comet at London Airport on Sunday afternoon and you are in Sydney before lunch on Tuesday. The Boeing 707 gets you there even sooner. Against this, the fastest sea liner takes about a month for the same journey, charging a first class fare—between £240 and £385—which is roughly the same as the airlines' £371 to £381. The airlines are selling their speed very successfully; B.O.A.C.'s scheduled services, for example, carried over 20 per cent. more passengers in 1959 than in 1958.

For cargo, air carriage is not so attractive. Only for the small, expensive, urgently needed shipments are the airlines in their element, enabling cheaper packing and insurance. But the absence of competition from aircraft does not mean that the sea liners are having it so good on their freight shipments. Ten years ago, the lines running from the United Kingdom to Australia had a month long waiting list of cargo. Now, their ships often sail only part full. Sir William Currie, the retiring chairman of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company, had this to say at the Company's recent Annual General Meeting:—

There are still many new ships coming forward, both in this country and abroad, but little sign that the owners are rushing to scrap their older ships. It is difficult to see, therefore, how the present surplus of tonnage, which is at the root of the depression, can come to a speedy end. For let us recognise that it is not shortage of cargoes that is bedevilling the freight market: fundamentally it is too many ships chasing too little cargo that keep rates where they are.

Have the steamship companies any answer to the double problem of a loss of passengers to the airlines on the one hand and a competitive scramble for freight on the other? Let us take a look at what the Peninsular and Oriental are doing about it.

The £40 million P. & O.—the largest shipping group in Great Britain—was incorporated by Royal Charter in 1840. It now has a host of subsidiary companies, including such famous names as British India, General Steam, and the Orient Steam Navigation Companies. It

also owns Silver City Airways Limited, several marine and general engineering companies and, through the Asiatic Steam Navigation Company—a British India satellite—it controls Delta Insurance. P. & O. itself has 32 ships, totalling 431,360 tons gross: by its subsidiaries, it owns hundreds more. We could expect a group of this size to have a powerful reply to the challenge of the jetliners.

As a first step, P. & O. have taken over the outstanding minority of the ordinary shares of the Orient Line of which, since 1919, they have held a majority. This merger has set up Orient and Pacific Lines to maintain and develop the Pacific Ocean service which Orient Line have been operating since 1954. The new service will extend the Australia and New Zealand run to the West Coast of the U.S.A., calling at Fiji and Honolulu on the way. It will also push the service to Japan and Hongkong out to America's West Coast. And it will operate a triangular service, from Australia to the U.S.A., to Japan and back to Australia.

At the moment, the Orient and Pacific can call on seven big ships for this service. These are of the *Himalaya* and *Orca* class, about 22 to 29 thousand tons gross and capable of about 22 knots.

These boats were built in the ten years after the war, when they were comparatively cheap. At today's prices, however, it would not be profitable to build such ships. Any new craft, to pay its way on the new, longer, Pacific route, must be two sizes larger and two sizes faster than before, which also means that it is two sizes more expensive. At the same time, it must not be so large that it cannot use the Suez Canal. It must be able to carry the highest possible number of passengers and be economical in operation and maintenance. In their two recently launched ships—*Oriana* (40,000 tons) and *Canberra* (45,000 tons) P. & O. think they have fulfilled exactly these calculated requirements.

Oriana was launched in November, 1959. *Canberra*, which went down the shipyard at Harland and Wolff's yard in Belfast in March this year, is the largest ship to be built in the United Kingdom since the *Queen Elizabeth*. The design takes full advantage of the fact that the

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- ★ Get Newsagents to sell the Socialist Standard
- ★ Get Libraries to display the Socialist Standard
- ★ Persuade friends and workmates to buy the Socialist Standard
- ★ Sell and Display the Socialist Standard everywhere

speed which can be reached without using excessive amounts of fuel increases with the length of the ship. *Canberra's* superstructure is almost entirely of aluminium, which saves about 1,500 tons in weight and allows extra passenger accommodation. £500,000 worth of plastics have been used, reducing weight, smoothing the hull's water resistance and almost eliminating the need for interior redecoration.

Canberra will carry over 2,000 passengers and will cut the journey from Britain to Australia to 25 days.

P. & O. are not content to leave it to *Oriana* and *Canberra* merely to assert the graciousness of sea travel against the modern scramble of the jet liner. They are ready to turn these ships into passenger tramps, taking on their passengers wherever they can find them.

We can all admire the beauty of the new ships and the skill and patience which has gone into their making. But the fact is that, typical of the products of capitalist society, *Oriana* and *Canberra* have been built only because they have profitable prospects. True, the prospects are rather uncertain—together the ships cost £30 million—and to justify this they

must have a profitable life into the 1980's. If they don't justify this investment, then probably no more ships like them will be built.

If P. & O. are taking a gamble, it is one which few other shipping companies are willing to take. As a result, the outlook for British ship-building is gloomy. On the day of *Canberra's* launching, *Lloyds List and Shipping Gazette* carried this report from the shipyards at Belfast:—

... the splendour of the occasion is diminished to the extent that there is no follow-on liner contract and that the

builder's order book is now running down at a rapid rate. Nor is there any early prospect of additional entries which will ensure that there is not a severe reduction in employment next year.

Perhaps there are so many ironies in capitalism that everyone is becoming inured to them. But surely somebody will notice it if, as *Canberra* and *Oriana* plough their fabulous way from one tropical playground to another, the men who built her in gloomy Belfast are begging for work at their local labour exchange.

IVAN.

Television

THE institutions and morality of Capitalism reflect the profit motive and thus the interests of the capitalist class. The means of mass propaganda, and thereby the power to put over their ideas are in the hands of the capitalist class (or their agent, the State) in each country.

Whole generations of workers come and go, blissfully unaware that anything is wrong with private property or with the system of working for wages. The real facts of life have to be learned, perhaps from experience outside the influence of the propaganda machine. The Press, Schools, Cinemas, Pulpit, Radio and T.V. do their job so well that most people never realise they are having an outlook foisted on them which is fundamentally opposite to their own class interest.

The structure of capitalism and its institutions rise from and are in harmony with its class-property basis. Land, oilfields, factories, mines, herds of cattle, are among the things which make up the means of production. While these belong to the capitalist class, the wealth producers will work for wages, the goods they produce will be for sale with a view to profit, and human relationships will be dominated by money. While capitalism lasts, so will the false social values it generates. The accumulation of personal wealth will remain the perverted criterion of worth. No wonder that a working class, as yet unaware of their social position as the all important producers, are often seen in large numbers gazing in awed reverence at some of the parasites who live off them. No wonder, in turn, that various forms of escapism and make-believe have become widely popular.

The cinemas, now showing signs of decline, only a few years ago had queues at almost every pay-box. Going to the

pictures was the working-class pastime, just as watching "the telly" is today. The world of second-hand thrills and dreams has largely changed its medium.

The fictional cow-boy and detective heroes have different names now, but their function is unchanged. Catching offenders against property, and the idea that punishment is Justice, are as popular as ever.

The land-grabbers, the cattle-thieves, the con-man, and the bank-raider, are still brought to book by the goodies of the F.B.I., the C.I.D. or the Marshal's Office. The stolen property is always returned to its "rightful owner," with few people to ask how he came to own it.

We are told that it is a sign of prosperity if workers, after a day in the factory or office, can go home to watch television. In fact, this simply shows how dull and monotonous their lives really are. In a world based on production for sale there is so little spontaneous joy in living that the professional laughter man and entertainer are in great demand. Without the artificial stimulations of things like T.V. many people would be at a complete loss. Thus the artificial becomes the real and to escape is a substitute for living.

Some people, of course, only watch the more "sophisticated" programmes, such as plays, and take pride in confining their viewing to the B.B.C. Not having a Socialist outlook, they soak up the same debased set of virtues and vices as the rest. Even plays which mildly attempt to investigate some festering ill of capitalism, such as the plight of the old, housing, juvenile delinquency or war, are totally unable to offer any solution and never give away the correct cause of these things. Instead of blaming capitalism, the workers continue to

blame bad leaders, governmental mistakes, dictatorship or human nature. So those who, by not watching commercials think they avoid the money-morality of capitalism, are mistaken.

The commercials, of course, demonstrate the sickening hypocrisy, the false values and phoney morality of capitalism most nakedly.

In the average week's viewing it is scientifically "proven" and demonstrated that half a dozen different makes of soap powder and detergent wash clothes cleaner, lighter, brighter and whiter than each other. There are about as many brands of oil and petrol which perform great wonders for motorists, with each one said to be better than the rest. There are numerous brands of cigarettes which "everyone" is switching to. Then the "razor boys" have a go with half a dozen makes of safety and electric razors, all of which shave smoother, cleaner, faster, than the others. So the examples could be multiplied.

Of all the scores of different things advertised in commercials, either on T.V. or elsewhere, not once are any of the possible drawbacks or harmful effects mentioned. Exaggeration, half-truths and direct lying are commonplace in advertising. The fact that millions of people watch the same adverts every night (many of which are repeated several times in the same evening) and make so little protest about them, is an unhealthy indication of the general acceptance of capitalism's low standards. Perhaps Sir Robert Fraser, Director-General of the Independent Television Authority, had this in mind when he said: "Every person of common sense knows that people of superior mental constitution are bound to find much of television intellectually beneath them." (*Daily Mirror*, 18-5-60.) We do not accept the idea of "superior mental constitution," but since Fraser spoke generally in high praise of television, one might ask where he fits in? The idea is deliberately planted that unless you wear a certain make of shirt, skirt or cosmetic and own a watch, carpet-cleaner or spin-drier made by a particular firm, you will fail to impress your friends. Your prestige will slip, you will fall behind in the rat-race.

All the high-pressure sales drives and the subtle persuaders merely emphasise the constant need in capitalism to find markets. Although on the commercials they say that their commodities "are just the thing for you," you cannot have them if you cannot afford them—or at any rate the instalments. The normal

condition of a worker is to live within what his wages can buy or hire. Hire-purchase, or by saving up, are the ways open to him to get anything that costs more than he can spare out of one week's wages. For most workers T.V. means H.P. over a couple of years or a rental or relay. The best that capitalism can do with the immense possibilities of modern scientific techniques is to allow the working class, while living under the threat of a slump or a war, to enjoy themselves on the never-never. Capitalism denies the working class access to the wide world of real things that make up living. Having to live within the limitations of the wages system, they get things out of perspective and T.V. becomes a substitute for things out of reach.

Production under the profit motive has reduced most work to drudgery. Having taken the joy out of our working life, capitalism would reduce us to passive viewers in our leisure time. Television is just one of many achievements abused by capitalism.

H. B.



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BOOKS

New China

China—New Age and New Outlook, by Ping-Chia Kuo. Penguin Books. 3s. 6d.

IN this eminently readable book the author discusses the great changes which are going on in China. He seeks to appraise and interpret current developments as a stage in the broad sweep of Chinese history and to search out the trends that have led to the triumph of the Communist Party, and to discuss the problems involved in this process. He takes in the pertinent points in China's past as well as what he can judge of its future. He says that with the collapse of the feudal system in 200 B.C., land was freely bought and sold and that this led to a concentration of ownership in the hands of the new privileged group and to the growing importance of the landlords as a social class. A great proportion of the peasantry continued to till the land, but did not own it, while the new class of owners exploited the peasantry.

In the course of the last twenty centuries the line of demarcation between the two segments of Chinese society became more steeply drawn. Economically, the landlords virtually controlled the tens of thousands of villages, and moreover, were the only group with the leisure to study and master politics. Thus the government had to fall back on them for the necessary personnel to operate the administrative machinery. This is why in every dynasty the Chinese government was virtually run by men of the landowning families. The tight grip on power by the landlord class was made more enduring by the adoption of Confucianism as the standard education for all officials. For twenty centuries Confucianism blocked progress and change, taught the oppressed to obey and impressed upon the minds of men the virtue of upholding the rule of the landlords. But, in recent times, the development of industry brought the seeds of change and made the collapse of the *ancien régime* inevitable.

The Nationalist movement, later to be led by Chiang Kai-Shek, left the landlord elite in control of the administration below country level. Thus land reform was effectively blocked. The Communist Party, on the other hand, realised that to develop the country the landlords, as a social class, must be eliminated. To obtain the support of the peasantry, they

redistributed land confiscated from the landlords amongst the peasants in those out-of-the-way small sections of the country where they had seized control. This whetted the appetite for Communist Party land reform in the territory controlled by the Nationalists. The plight of the peasants was worsened by the disruption of World War II and, in 1949, the Communist Party were able to seize power on the mainland, leaving the Nationalists, backed by the U.S.A., in control of the island of Formosa. The process of modernising China has been proceeding rapidly. The large holdings of the landowners were quickly distributed amongst the peasants. Then came mutual help groups organised amongst the peasants. This was the thin edge of the wedge in converting the peasant into a landless agricultural wage worker. This primitive organisation gave way to voluntary agricultural corporatives from which the peasant could withdraw if he so wished. Then on to the next stage—the collectivised farms and finally to the last stage, the Commune.

The Communes consist of 4,000 to 10,000 households. Their central purpose is to expand agricultural production which in turn would speed up industrialisation. The Commune makes monthly payments in the form of a basic wage classified in accordance with the graduations of the members' work performance, plus bonuses for workers who contribute more than the norm. This is clearly a system based upon the principle of "to each according to his work," a principle whose aim is to stimulate production. By making the production unit bigger the state makes it impossible for the peasants to pursue individual production except as wage-earners in the employ of the state. But the greatest benefit to production is that the Commune takes on industrial as well as agricultural functions. Perhaps the most dramatic aspect of this development has been the emergence of tens of thousands of small furnaces in the villages, producing pig iron or carbon steel and making farm implements. The fundamental force motivating Communist China's new role in international affairs is her militant nationalism, which has advanced a new balance of power in the Far East and has helped to produce the tension in world affairs that we are now witnessing. For

the moment, the author says, the addition of Soviet military material and Chinese man-power could create a giant army in case of war and this is partly responsible for the Sino-Soviet Alliance.

The author is typically Chinese in the practicality of his approach and in his logical method of thought unburdened by the religious thought typical of the average Western writer. To read this book is to glimpse an insight into the great depth of learning of its author, who incidentally is a Professor of History in an American University. Such a wealth of knowledge makes a mere amateur student of Chinese affairs like your reviewer feel humble. Yet Socialists know that Dr. Ping-Chia Kuo just does not really understand the world of which he writes. He reveals his belief that China is socialist and is ideologically opposed to the capitalist parts of the world. The Socialist sees a world of capitalism, but Dr. Kuo sees two worlds, with Socialism existing side by side with capitalism, and thinks that both, like sheep and goats on one farm, must be taught how to live together. In his book he makes various suggestions as to how this could be accomplished. What the Socialist views as merely the development of capitalism in China, he sees as "Socialist reconstruction" and he adds a plea to the United Nations to understand and befriend China in the interests of peace and goodwill. Nevertheless, to those who are interested in China as one of the possible bogey-men of the capitalist future, this is a useful book to read.

F. OFFORD.

Nigeria

New Nigerians, by Mora Dickson
Dobson, 25s.

THIS book describes an experiment that was carried out at Man-of-War Bay in the south east of Nigeria by the author and her husband. The experiment consisted of a highly intensive training course to test the initiative, enterprise and ability to lead, and to follow, of students who were specially chosen from all over Nigeria. The instructor was selected from the Nigerian police. It was his job to set the tone of the course, and the exercises were designed to prove the students "worthy citizens" and "upholders of the law." In referring to a special course for schoolboys, the author says this:

They were picked from the cream of the Nigerian secondary schools. The best equipment and housing had been provided for them. The whole system of living was based on the English public school.

The author makes no attempt to critically evaluate the intentions behind the scheme and leaves the impression of a woman accepting without question that her suburban values are superior to all others. I found this book rather dull, but it was interesting to note the attempts that are being made to introduce western civilisation into Nigeria and to consider the reasons.

Although Nigeria gains her independence this year, there is still a lot of

Are Politicians Honest?

Does anybody expect politicians and other leaders to be honest? To keep their promises? To admit their mistakes and if necessary make way for somebody who can do better than they? The history of capitalism is crowded with examples of leaders who have never done anything of the kind. Of men who have persisted in policies and actions which were obviously harmful—and have lied to justify their mistakes.

Older people will remember the stubbornness of the European politicians in the 1914-18 war, who persisted in futile campaigns which were often costing thousands of lives every day, without achieving even the objects which the generals had set out for them. There is a story that, when the terrible battle at Paschendaele was at last over, a high ranking British officer went up to the battlefield and wept at what he saw there. But Douglas Haig, the man who had planned and defended the whole campaign, did not weep. He was given an earldom. None of the politicians suggested that the war was one great, bitter futility. None of them, when it was over, balanced the dead against what was settled at the so-called peace conferences. They simply rearranged the frontiers of Europe, threw the Germans out of Africa and waited for the next war to start. And when that happened, one of the excuses for it was a dispute over a part of the post-1918 settlement—the Polish Corridor. The treaties of 1945 have had the same effect—they have not pacified, but have irritated and provoked more sore spots in the world. These are only some of the instances when, although direct and vital human interests were at stake, the leaders of

British capital invested there which has to be protected. This is done by instilling into the minds of prospective administrators of capitalism in Nigeria the ideology and values of the western world, and breaking up the workers themselves into different groups. Technicians and officials preoccupied with their own prosperity and high standing in the community can be relied upon not to identify themselves with the great mass of workers struggling to better their standard of living. So we have the new Nigerians, the new broom sweeping away age-old tribal custom, and Mora Dickson playing her part in the debasement of the African with enthusiasm.

J. L.

capitalism have been less than honest. They are still at the same game. Last March, President Eisenhower spoke to some American-Chilean organisations in Santiago de Chile. He had this to say:

The suggestion that America supports dictators is ridiculous. Surely no nation loves liberty more. . . . We repudiate dictatorship in any form right or left. Our role . . . stands as a beacon to all who love freedom.

Fine words. They ignore the fact that, in the past few years, the U.S.A. has supported, financially and militarily, dictators like Franco, Syngman Rhee, and Batista. And, of course, they have helped one of the most ruthless of the lot—Stalin, who was sustained in his pitiless rule by the aid which America poured into his country during the war. At the time, the American and Russian ruling classes had common cause against Germany—and when capitalist interests are at stake, principles of freedom and human rights are left to take care of themselves.

Nearer home, we find other examples of political inconsistency. The *Manchester Guardian* of 15th June, 1959, reporting on the Whitehaven by-election, drew attention to two statements which had been made by the Conservative candidate. One, in February, 1950, when he was standing as a Liberal, called the Conservative Party " . . . a class party . . . which desires to keep power and privilege in the hands of a particular section of the community." The other, in October, 1951, when he had joined the Tories, described them as standing " . . . not for one section of the community, but for all."

This latter can be a winning line. Most

workers deny the existence of a class struggle and vote against a party which they think stands for the interests of any class. The majority of them harbour the delusion that everybody's interests are the same—and woe betide the "rabble rouser" who talks about the class war. This goes down especially well with the hire-purchasers of television sets and the deferred buyers of cars. So, to win votes and influence people, a party must often claim that it is above class, and that its opponents dabble in the fields of narrow self-interest.

A lot of money can be spent to put over this sort of idea. The recently published *The British General Election of 1959*, by David Butler and Richard Rose, reveals that between July, 1957, and October, 1959, the Conservative Party lashed out £468,000 on press advertising and posters alone. All of this—and what was spent at the same time by the other parties and by the various industries threatened with nationalisation—to convince workers that capitalism could be better organised by one set of leaders rather than the other. Are the voters flattered? Apparently so; change as they might between Labour, Tory, Liberal or what have you, their support for capitalism is unwavering.

Here is the very centre of the whirlwind. They trust their leaders. Field Marshal Lord Montgomery summed it up when he said, on the anniversary of D-Day:

. . . a way can be found by which the East and the West can live together in spite of different ideas and social systems, but the finding of that way is not for you and me—it is for our political leaders.

This surprisingly is not one of the Field Marshal's least sensible statements. The problems of capitalist society can be left to "our political leaders." But workers—the people who make and build, who manage and organise—and who die in capitalism's wars—have a different task. They must realise that the leaders themselves show the wretchedness and brutality of the system. That, even without the mistakes and dishonesty which we have seen, capitalism would still make one hell of a world. That the future is not in putting blind faith in leaders, but in widespread understanding and socially-conscious action.

IVAN.

We invite our readers to send letters of comment and criticism. Please keep your letters as short as possible.

From the Branches



Nottingham

THREE London members left for Nottingham during Whit week-end to assist the propaganda efforts of this go-ahead provincial branch.

Most of the local population were out of town for the beginning of the holiday—obviously not anticipating the efforts of Party members—which depleted the audiences at the meetings held on the Saturday and Sunday. The Monday evening meeting well rewarded our speakers, and with an attentive and interested audience listening to the Socialist case and asking questions, our members could well have continued indefinitely. As it was, they delayed their return to London until Tuesday morning. In all, 24s. of literature was sold. On the Sunday evening the Comrades had a very interesting discussion in a member's home. All concerned are looking forward to a "repeat performance" in the not too far distant future.

* * *

Ealing

It is some little while since any account of Branch activities has appeared in this column, but this does not mean that the members have been inactive. Far from it. Over the past few months, Ealing Branch has been extremely busy. Members have given consistent support to the writers' class which was run during the winter at Hammersmith, and the worthwhile results of their efforts have appeared in the *SOCIALIST STANDARD*. It is hoped to continue this class shortly on a monthly basis, to enable branch writers to develop their style and exchange ideas. Throughout this period also a very fine series of fortnightly lectures on economics by Comrade Hardy. Members were well pleased and appreciated this golden opportunity to brush up their knowledge (and plug some of the gaps as well).

So far this year, three films have been shown at Ealing. On January 29th there was "Shadow of Hiroshima," followed by "Man one Family" (February 19th), and "African Conflict" (April 29th). In each case, the usual Socialist comments on the film were given by one of the Party members and much useful discussion ensued. A number of interested non-members have attended these events which we took care to advertise in the local press. Our success here has been due in no small measure to the excellent co-operation and help received from the H/O films committee.

One of the contacts made at the film shows turned out to be a member of the "Socialist Labour League" who gladly accepted our invitation to a further discussion. This took place on May 13th in a crowded branch room. The event was conducted in a very orderly manner and

branch members acquitted themselves well in a discussion in which no holds were barred. A return visit from this opponent is anticipated. Branch canvassing has been revived, and good sales have been made in Greenford and Harrow. It is hoped to build up substantial regular subscribers' lists in these areas, in addition to other permanent contacts elsewhere which have been made by literally years of hard work. Meetings at Gloucester Road were opened by the branch at the beginning of June, and we are hoping for a season as successful as last year's. This station has certainly been "tamed" since the old days and generally, a far better hearing is given now than in the past. The Branch welcomes support from any comrade who can come along on Thursdays at 8 p.m.

P. H.

50 Years Ago

Married Women in the Factory

From an article by a Factory Inspector

Married women in the West Riding of Yorkshire, in addition to hearing the children and caring for the home, are often compelled partly and sometimes wholly to support their family. In a number of cases which come under our notice the wives work all day in the mill and on their return, tidy the home, baking and washing for the family. Many do not retire till midnight, rising again early in order to provide for a midday meal before going to work. In the dinner hour they quickly return, prepare the meal, serve the husband and children, swallowing their food far too hurriedly and again hasten back to work. Their lives often appear to be little better than those of slaves, and many at 45 are broken-down women prematurely aged. If a community is to be judged by the status of its women, here certainly the condition of the working women reminds one of coolie women in India, or those of many of the African tribes where women are more or less beasts of burden.

From the SOCIALIST STANDARD, July 1910.

Correction

In the May 1960 *SOCIALIST STANDARD* we gave an extract from the *SOCIALIST STANDARD* of May 1910, which was in fact corrected in the June, 1910, issue. The first three sentences, as corrected, should have read: "The Social Democratic Party in Germany occupies a similar position to the party similarly named here. Its programme (the Erfurter Programme), according to their own statement, consists of the theoretical part, based on the teachings of Marx—the materialist conception of history, the surplus value theory and the class struggle—and the practical, consisting of reforms and palliatives; and we allege that the whole existence of the German S.D.P. has been spent in the advocacy of these reforms, to the detriment of Socialist propaganda. We do not hold the erroneous view . . . that the German workers must obtain certain reforms because the revolution from feudalism to Capitalism was not complete."

We apologise for overlooking this correction.

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.

THE PASSING SHOW

South African Realities

ANYONE who doubts the validity of the Socialist interpretation of events in South Africa—that what we are seeing is the emergence of a new capitalist class, together with the corresponding proletariat, in a country still ruled by the landowners—would do well to look at *The Times Supplement on South Africa*, which appeared on May 31st. Valuable figures are given to back up the verdict that “during the 50 years of the Union, South Africa has developed from a pastoral country into a modern industrial state,” and that the last two decades have witnessed “unprecedented industrial growth.” Steel production, for example, has increased a hundredfold in twenty-five years. The total gross value of the output of South Africa’s manufacturing industries has gone up from £40 million in 1915-16 to £1,424 million in 1955-56, thirty-five times as much. Even allowing for inflation, there is still obviously a gigantic increase here.

As the *Supplement* puts it, “it has become clear that new policies and fundamental changes in attitude are necessary if rapid industrial growth is to be continued into the next half century.” This means, of course, that the policies of the capitalists will have to replace the policies of the landowners. The justification for this is to be found in that favourite phrase of the capitalists, “economic realities.” The *Supplement* says:

At this time political issues completely overshadow economics in any assessment of the future—the key question being whether government policies will be in harmony with economic realities (industry’s complete reliance on a stable, settled, urban non-white labour force) or whether there will be further attempts to impose on industry racial policies that will increasingly undermine productivity and progress. . . . It has now become quite clear to industrialists that South Africa can realize its great potential and its ambitions to become the “workshop of Africa” only if a contented and stable labour force is built up and if existing barriers to productivity are removed. . . . Industry itself is now beginning to recognize what this means in terms of housing, social welfare and minimum wages, and the need to encourage the emergence of a property-owning African middle class with a stake in maintaining social stability.

It would be hard to improve on these quotations as a statement of the aims and ambitions of the South African capi-

talist class at the present time. The capitalists now dominate the South African economy: how long will it be before they dominate South Africa politically?—especially since capitalism dominates all the other “civilized” countries of the world. Well, they themselves are optimistic. As the *Supplement* sums up: “South African industrialists are confident that economic realities will prevail and that a new and constructive approach to the problems of growth in a multi-racial society will emerge.”

Race Hate

THE fascist British Union Movement has been distinguishing itself again, this time when some of its members followed an American Negro comedian along the street, shouting abuse at him from a loudspeaker van. There have been some indignant comments on the incident from those who consider themselves left-wingers. No doubt these protests are sincere, but they are illogical. For the capitalist system breeds race hatred. Only in the last twenty years we have seen the ruling classes of various countries, whenever it was in their own interests, whipping up hatred of the Jews, the Germans, the British, the Russians, the Americans, and many more. From time to time every capitalist country goes to war, and needs the working class to kill and be killed in defence of its masters’ profits. The official propagation of race hatred is one of the means inevitably used to lash the workers into the necessary frame of mind. So that people who oppose racialism and at the same time support capitalism (private or state) are merely defeating their own ends.

In the meantime Mosley’s fascists demonstrate the gentlemanly standards of the “white civilisation” they claim to be defending, by hurling insults at a foreign visitor in the open street.

Mutual Help Society

FROM *The Times* (9-6-60):

The Institute of Directors have accepted an invitation from the State Scientific and Technical Committee of

the U.S.S.R. to send a goodwill and fact-finding mission to Russia to study problems of Soviet industrial management.

Sir Richard Powell, Director-General of the Institute of Directors, said that the mission is “an attempt to get an overall picture of top Russian management policy in industry and commerce. . . . It should prove a unique opportunity for high ranking British businessmen to see their Russian counterparts at work.”

Without question the ruling class of Russia and the ruling class of Britain could help each other a great deal by showing each other how they run their respective businesses, and keep their respective working classes in order. Although capitalism in Britain is still largely private, while in Russia it is state-run, nevertheless the two economic systems are the same in every important respect. The “high-ranking British businessmen” and their “Russian counterparts” will have a great deal in common. We look forward to the day when the British and Russian working classes will co-operate in the establishment of Socialism, just as today our masters collaborate for the better running of capitalism.

A. W. E.

COMPANION PARTIES

Socialist Party of Australia

P.O. Box 1440 Melbourne
29 Doris Street, North Sydney, P.O. Box 2291
Sydney

Socialist Party of Canada

P.O. Box 115 Winnipeg, Manitoba

Socialist Party of Ireland

Gen. Sec: 24 Newington Avenue, Belfast

Socialist Party of New Zealand

P.O. Box 62 Petone

World Socialist Party of the United States

11 Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston 9, Mass.

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SOCIALIST STANDARD

AUGUST 1960

Did Aneurin Bevan ever realise that his dilemma is one that necessarily faces all who take on the task of governing a capitalist country in a capitalist world? He like the other leaders of the Labour Government had come down on the side of the belief that as a present practical policy a Labour Government must face the workers as an administration trying to keep the British economy functioning and must face the world as guardian of British interests which necessarily meant in both spheres of action accepting and working within the framework of the capitalist system.

The Passing of a Labour Leader

THE COALBROOK ENQUIRY ●

THE CASH NEXUS ●

NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT ●

THE ARANDORA STAR ●

BUSINESS MEN IN RUSSIA ●

WINDS OF CHANGE ●

JOURNAL OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

BRANCHES

Visitors are cordially invited to every meeting

BASILDON. Thursdays 7.30 p.m., Craylands County Secondary School, Basildon. Correspondence: R. H. Bowie, Cranford, Basil Drive, Laindon, Essex.

BIRMINGHAM. Thursdays 8 p.m., "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month. Enquiries to H. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road, Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.

BLOOMSBURY. 1st and 3rd Thursdays (Sept. 1 & 15) in month 7.30 p.m. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1. No meetings during August.

BRADFORD & DISTRICT. Correspondence: Peter Hall, 10 Spring Grove Terrace, Leeds 6. Tel.: Bradford 71904 any time.

CAMBERWELL. Mondays 8 p.m., 52 Clapham High St., S.W.4. Correspondence: H. Baldwin, 334 South Lambeth Road, Stockwell, S.W.8.

DARTFORD. 1st Friday (Aug. 5th) at 8 p.m., 7, Cyril Road, Bexleyheath. (Kipling 1796). 3rd Friday (Aug. 19th) at 8 p.m., 32, Ickleton Road, Mottingham, S.E.9. Correspondence: W. G. Catt at above latter address.

EALING. Fridays 8 p.m. (Not Aug. 5th) Memorial Hall, Windsor Rd., Ealing (nr. Broadway). Correspondence: M. Evers, 64 Pennard Rd., Shepherds Bush, W.12.

ECCELES. 2nd Friday (Aug. 12) in month, 7.30 p.m., 5 Gaskell Road, Eccles. Correspondence: F. Lea at above address.

FULHAM & CHELSEA. 1st and 3rd Thursdays (Aug. 4 discussion and 18 business) in month 8 p.m. "Kings Head", 4 Fulham High Street, S.W.6. (nr. Putney Bridge). Correspondence: L. Cox, 22 Victoria House, Ebury Bridge Rd. SW1. Tel. SLO 5258.

GLASGOW (City). Alternate Wednesdays (Aug. 3, 17 & 31) 8 p.m. Religious Institute Rooms, 200 Buchanan Street, C.1. Correspondence: T. A. Mulheron, 366 Alkenhead Road, Glasgow, S.2.

GLASGOW (Kelvingrove). Alternate Mondays (Aug. 1, 15 & 29) 8 p.m., Partick Burgh Halls, Partick. Correspondence: R. Donnelly, 50 Doncaster Street, Glasgow, N.W.

HACKNEY. Wednesdays 7.30 p.m., Bethnal Green Town Hall, Room 3 (Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: S. Beck, 28, Petherton Road, N.5.

HAMPSTEAD. 2nd and 4th Mondays (Aug. 8 and 22) in month 8.30 p.m. Watling Community Centre, Orange Hill Road, Burnt Oak, Edgware. Correspondence: H. Young, 130 Hayling Road, Oxhey, Watford.

ISLINGTON. Thursdays 8 p.m., Co-op. Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N.7. Lecture or discussion after business. Correspondence: R. E. Carr, SPGB, c/o above address.

KINGSTON-UPON-THAMES. Correspondence: Secretary, 3, Dallington Court, Burhill Road, Merstham, Surrey.

LEWISHAM. Mondays 8 p.m., Co-op. Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushes Green, Catford, S.E.6. Correspondence: P. Hart, 22 Gt. Elms Road, Bromley. Tel.: Rav 7811.

NOTTINGHAM. Wednesdays 7.30 p.m., Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street. Correspondence: Secretary, R. Powe, 8 Swains Avenue, Carlton Road.

PADDINGTON. Wednesdays 8.30 p.m., "The Olive Branch," Crawford Street, W.1. (corner Homer Street, nr. Marylebone Road). Discussions after business. Correspondence: C. May, 1 Hanover Road, N.W.10.

SOUTHEAST. 1st Tuesday (Aug. 2) 19, Kingswood Chase, Leigh-on-Sea; 3rd Tuesday (Aug. 16), 17 Cotswold Road, Westcliff-on-Sea; in each month, 7.30 p.m. Correspondence: Dick Jacobs, at above latter address.

WEMBLEY. Mondays 8 p.m. Barham Old Court, Barham Park, Wembley (Near Sudbury Town Station) Correspondence: R. G. Cain, 48, Balfour Rd. W.13.

WEST HAM. 2nd & 4th Thursdays (Aug. 8 & 22), Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E.12. Discussions from 9 p.m. Correspondence: D. Deutz, 80 Bawdsey Ave., Ilford, Essex.

WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY. Fridays 7.30 p.m., 146 Inderwick Road, Hornsey, N.8 (41 bus to Tottenham Lane, nr. "Hope & Anchor"). Correspondence: Secretary, at above address.

WOOLWICH. 2nd and 4th Fridays (Aug. 9 and 23) in month, 7.30 p.m., Town Social Club, Mason's Hill, S.E.18. Discussions at 8 p.m. Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens, Eltham, S.E.9.

DISCUSSION AND STUDY GROUPS

BRISTOL. Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Backfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2 Tel.: 24680.

CHELTEMHAM. Enquiries: Ken Smith, 338 Swindon Road.

DORKING & DISTRICT. Enquiries: O.C. Iles, "Ashleigh" Townfield Rd., Dorking.

MANCHESTER. Enquiries: J. M. Breakay, 2 Dennison Avenue, Manchester 20 Tel.: Dld 5709.

MITCHAM & DISTRICT. Tuesday (Aug. 16), 8 p.m., "White Hart," Mitcham Cricket Green. Enquiries: T. Lord, 288 Church Road, Mitcham.

NEWPORT & DISTRICT. Meetings at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport (Details advertised in *South Wales Argus*). Enquiries: M. Harris, 26, Oakfield Road, Lightwood, Cwmbran, nr. Newport, Mon.

OLDHAM. Wednesdays 7.30 p.m., 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees, at above address. Tel.: Mai 5165.

REDHILL. Enquiries: A. A. Kemp, 19 Ashcombe Rd., Merstham, Redhill, Surrey.

SUSSEX. Enquiries: W. Craske, "Hazelcroft," Green Road, Wivelsfield Green, Sussex.

SWANSEA. Enquiries: V. Brain, 17 Brynawellon, Pencelliogi, Llanelli, Glam.

MEETINGS

HACKNEY LECTURE

Bethnal Green Town Hall (near Tube Station), Cambridge Heath Road, E.2. Wednesday, August 10th 8 p.m.

The Anti - Nuclear Campaign 1950 - 1960

Speaker J. Smith

PADDINGTON DISCUSSIONS

Wednesday 8.30 p.m., The Olive Branch, Crawford St., W.1

LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS

Sundays Hyde Park 3.30 pm & 7 pm

East Street, Walworth
Aug. 7th (1 pm)
Aug. 14th & 28th (noon)
Aug. 21st (11 am)

Beresford Square, Woolwich 8 pm

Thursdays Tower Hill 12.30-2 pm

Earls Court 8 pm
Gloucester Road 8 pm

Saturdays Rushcroft Road, Brixton 8 pm

Hyde Park 7.30

GLASGOW OUTDOOR MEETINGS

Saturdays Royal Exchange Square 3 pm
(off Queen Street)

Sundays West Regent Street 7.30 pm
(outside Odeon Cinema)

PARTY NOTICES

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the SPGB Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4, at 7.30 p.m.

ORDERS for literature should be sent to the Literature Department, SPGB, at the above address.

CORRESPONDENCE for the Executive Committee should be sent to the General Secretary, SPGB, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4. (Telephone: Macaulay 3811).

LETTERS containing postal orders, etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, SPGB, at the above address. Postal orders and cheques should be crossed and made payable to the SPGB.

SOCIALIST STANDARD

AUGUST 1960 No. 672, VOL 56



JOURNAL OF THE
SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

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THE PASSING OF A LABOUR LEADER

It is not our purpose here to attempt an analysis of the career of Aneurin Bevan, but only to put one or two aspects of his progress from being a working class rebel against the tyranny and sordidness of capitalism to his occupancy of high office in the post-war Labour Government.

In particular we take an observation made by Bevan in an article of appreciation of Winston Churchill, published, after Bevan's death, in the *Dairy Mirror* (7/7/60). Bevan described Churchill as essentially a romantic, who "in his assessment of realities... is without the discipline that comes from personal knowledge of industry and of

economic affairs." He maintained that Churchill, because of the rank to which he was born, had been sheltered "from intimate insight into the concessions ideas have to make when they come to be transformed into the facts of a highly industrialised society."

Bevan's view of Churchill's limitations is probably well founded, but the thought invariably comes to mind that Bevan was here not only measuring Churchill, but also explaining and defending much that happened in his own activities: throughout the years after he had begun to make a name in the Labour Party he was torn between the desire to be a rebel espousing certain ideals and the necessity of working out concessions to meet the needs of practical politics. Nobody can suppose that Bevan was happy about finding himself supporting war, supporting re-armament and making his belated decision to press for the retention of the H-bomb as a bargaining counter in the Labour Party's plan to work for all-round disarmament.

But was he ever clear about what was happening and why it happened? Did he ever realise that his dilemma is one that necessarily faces all who take on the task of governing a capitalist country in a capitalist world? With or without seeing it clearly he, like the other leaders of the Labour Government, had come down on the side of

the belief that as a present practical policy a Labour Government must face the workers as an administration trying to keep the British economy functioning and must face the world as guardian of British interests which necessarily meant in both spheres of action accepting and working within the framework of the capitalist social system. That he did so with some reluctance and occasional rebellious withdrawals show his resentment of the dilemma, but he never succeeded in resolving the problem. He would have argued, no doubt, that there was no alternative, and here we as Socialists insist that there was, and is, the alternative of leaving the running of capitalism to those who believe in it and of devoting efforts to building up an international Socialist working class with the consciously-held aim of putting Socialism in the place of capitalist society.

News in Review

Mr. Robens

THE Labour Party rank and file and the Mineworkers' leaders have received with mixed feelings the news that Mr. Robens, a Labour Party leader, is to be elected Chairman of the National Coal Board. The majority of the Mine Workers' leaders at their Conference at Llandudno were vociferous in their attack on the proposed decentralization that is now being discussed by the Management side of the industry. Mr. Sam Watson however suggested that Robens' name should be kept out of the discussion as, the Conference should have confidence in a man who has spent his life in the working class movement, and he should be preferred to a retired General, Admiral or a Tory.

Putting aside all the discussions on the rights or wrongs of the appointment, one should view the set-up in its true perspective. After all, the retiring Chairman, Sir James Bowman, ex-Mineworkers' leader, has been a party to the closing of uneconomic pits for at least the last two years. In fact, the East Fife coalfields of Scotland have become almost a depressed area, and this year it is proposed to close another 40 pits. And he also spent his life in the "working class movement." With all the changes that will have to take place in the industry, it is important that the Chairman should have some understanding of the running of it and also some understanding of the best approach to the union.

Mr. Robens is undoubtedly a good choice from the Board's point of view. Firstly, he has the association with trade unions as an ex-official of a union and Labour M.P. and also as the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Fuel and Power in the Labour Govern-

ment. He clearly has a knowledge of the administrative side of the industry. So, to sum it up, Mr. Macmillan has appointed himself a good chairman, and Mr. Robens has got £10,000 a year. What, of course is not mentioned by the Press is that nationalisation is just another form of capitalism and whoever is chairman of the N.C.B., his job is to run the coalmines and make them pay.

Cuba

UNTIL recently, America has been paying inflated prices for Cuban sugar for the privilege of refining and marketing oil in Cuba. The current fracas was touched off by the American proposal to limit imports of Cuban sugar. As to be expected, the old imperialist game of fishing in troubled waters is being played with great gusto by the Soviet Union. Their agreement to supply crude oil to Cuba will serve the dual purpose of getting rid of some of the surplus oil that is steadily accumulating in the Caucasus and getting one foot firmly stamped down on America's doorstep. Undoubtedly, having the "enemy" so close to the American mainland will upset the U.S. defence system. The Cuban dictator, Dr. Castro, is taking full advantage of the situation and whether America will tolerate this remains for the moment a matter of conjecture. Only one thing is certain, whatever the outcome, the poverty stricken peasants and workers of Cuba will remain the poverty stricken peasants and workers of Cuba.

Japan in Turmoil

FROM recent events in Japan it would appear that the more help one gets the less grateful one becomes. When it is considered that Japan's economic recovery was primarily due to U.S. assistance and America's need for overseas military bases, one would have thought Uncle Sam's representative, Mr. Eisenhower, would have had no difficulty in a courtesy call to a "great sister democracy." The visit was to have been marked by the signing of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty which would extend the Japanese agreement to U.S. military bases. Despite the precautions taken

(which included the President's "bullet-proof bubble-top car," 25,000 police, 2,000 firemen, 38 fire engines, 15 ambulances and four radio cars), the trip was called off.

We are not particularly concerned with the reasons for the cancellation of the visit. It is certain that considering the nature of the mass demonstrations, many of the Japanese have memories of the consequences of military alliances, particularly since it is the only country which has had experience of nuclear warfare and its effects. The point must be made, however, that mere demonstrations against the effects will not solve the problems facing the Japanese people. The history of capitalism is littered with broken treaties and alliances. The Japanese capitalist class whom Prime Minister Kishi represents, and who have benefited greatly by their close relations with America and its enormous post-war loans, have every interest in establishing and developing once again their so-called "defensive forces." These armed forces and the fact that Japan is the most highly industrialised power in Asia with a dearth of natural resources and an increasing population, will ensure more success in their demands for greater "freedom of action" and the usual demand for a more independent "foreign policy" which in capitalist terms means the rat-race for a share of the world's markets. To the Japanese working class we suggest that treaty or no treaty, they have still got capitalism and the constant threat of another holocaust, nuclear or otherwise.

The Labour Party

THE decline of the Labour Party since its 1945 election success has now reached a level that has caused some speculation in the Press as to whether the Party is finished as a political force. In their articles on the subject, the writers usually attribute the troubles of the Labour Party to the lack of unity within its ranks. In capitalist political circles, unity is an expedient for winning elections and not a factor brought about by an understanding and acceptance of basic principles. How often in the past has the SPGB been urged by critics to unite with the various capitalist left-wing parties as a means to further the cause of Socialism? This despite the fact that the political outlook of the parties are in direct opposition.

The present dilemma of the Labour Party arises out of the apathy of the working class towards policies which sufficed to lure the workers into returning a Labour Government in 1945, but

failed to deliver the goods. The arguments ranging round Clause 4 show that the main plank in the Labour Party's policy—nationalisation—has been tried and found wanting as a solution to the workers' problems.

Homes—at a price

ARE you desperately searching for a flat? Are you dissatisfied with your present housing conditions? Do you feel perhaps that you would like to improve upon your existing living quarters? Do not delay, but instantly get in touch with Ralph Pay & Taylor, agents for builders Rush & Tompkins (absolutely no connection with Slapton & Leavitt of Ragged-Trousered Philanthropist fame), who are just about to start building a block of 12 luxury flats and a penthouse in Hyde Park Gardens with splendid views across Hyde Park. *Evening Standard* (30/6/60). The flats will sell for about £40,000. However, if you're interested in the penthouse, which will cost more, you'd better put your skates on, because Mr. Whitney Straight, deputy Chairman of Rolls-Royce, is understood to have first refusal.

Nationalisation and Profits

A LITTLE simple arithmetic gives the game away. Last year, the British Transport Commission piled up what they call a working deficit of £12.6 millions. But this deficit was declared after taking account of the fixed interest which the Commission must pay on its stock. This stock, of course, replaced private shares many of which had not paid a dividend for some time before the nationalisation of the railways and other transport undertakings by the Labour Government. The fixed interest charges, with other central expenses, came to £42 millions. Now £12.6 millions away from £42 millions leaves £29.4 millions. And that is the profit which the Transport Commission actually made last year. It is fairly safe to assume that no privately owned railway—or any other company—which made £29 millions, would deliberately land themselves in the red by paying £42 millions out in interest. But that is precisely what British Transport Commission—like many other nationalised industries—have done. Which is an indication that, whatever nationalisation may be, it is not a kick in the teeth for the shareholders.

Clean Sweep

HOOVERS have something of a reputation for American business ruthlessness.

Socialist Party OF GREAT BRITAIN

OBJECT

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

- 1] That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.
- 2] That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.
- 3] That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.
- 4] That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.
- 5] That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.
- 6] That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.
- 7] That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.
- 8] The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

For a socialist analysis
of war read

SOCIALIST PARTY AND WAR

1/3 post paid, from SPGB
52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4

punishments. In perspective, prisons are a horrible scar across the face of modern society filled with the worst failures of our cruelly competitive social system, persons who in the main start out with enormous handicaps of ignorance and poverty. At best prisoners are robbed of all dignity and locked up in

degrading circumstances. At worst they are starved on a diet of bread and water, sometimes flogged and occasionally have their necks broken on the scaffold.

A basic hypocrisy of capitalism is that it legalises the exploitation of the mass of mankind and supports the social privilege of the propertied class. The

individual is usually held responsible for crime and very few suggest as the cause the failure of our own society. When all men are elevated to the dignity of an equal relationship in regard to wealth, the rebellious act of crime and the irrational institutions of punishment will not exist.



The Coalbrook Enquiry

UNDER capitalism, mining, like all other industries is run strictly with a view to making a profit. Running costs are always kept as low as possible, and human considerations take second place to the prime motive of making a profit. Now, nearly six months afterwards, the report of the enquiry into the disaster at the Coalbrook mine in South Africa on 21st January, where 430 Africans and five Europeans were entombed, has said that the underground subsidence was due to "negligence and wrongful acts and omissions" by certain mine officials.

Mr. W. T. Dalling, Chief Inspector of Mines at Witbank, had many things to say at the enquiry which were not at all popular with the mine's management or its Counsel. He said that the fatal accident rate at Coalbrook North mine was 12 times as high as that in his own district, Witbank. Miners in South Africa did not carry any form of self-rescue gear; miners had survived falls in similar circumstances in the U.S. and Europe. He said his first reaction to the mine disaster was a picture of a mine that had collapsed due to weak supports. The method of mining in Coalbrook was that of cutting the coal and leaving pillars as supports.

Mr. Corbett, who assisted Mr. Dalling in investigations at the mine, said that after his observations, he thought the mine plans were inaccurate. He also said that in the northern area of the mine, there were "active pillars" which were "splitting and making low noises," and that in most areas he visited, wasting (coal falling from pillars) had taken

News from Africa

place. Evidence was given at the enquiry that on December 28th a fall had taken place in the mine, but the Assistant Manager did not consider it to be a major one, as it had been confined to one section of the mine, and the fall had not been reported. When asked if he thought the reason for the January collapse was that the coal pillars were called upon to carry more than their strength allowed, the Assistant Manager said he did not know. This was one of the men in whose hands were the lives of hundreds of other men. Mr. Dalling said that requirements and recommendations that were put to the mine management were ignored. He said that the lowest seam at the Coalbrook mine was mined in a very impractical and hazardous way and had been dangerously undermined. He said that pillar mining should only be used in upper areas of a mine, otherwise the pillars would take on too much strain and burst.

Sir Andrew Bryan, world authority on mining and Chairman of the International Conference at Geneva in 1949 which drew up a model code of safety for mines, and who is now adviser to the British National Coal Board, read to the enquiry a lengthy and detailed report which he had compiled. He said there was no evidence that the mine collapsed due to general weighting. It appeared instead that an unusual occurrence, such as a rock-burst or bump had caused the collapse. Counsel for some of the African widows said Sir Andrew was not an independent witness as he claimed, but that his evidence was one-sided. He spoke no Afrikaans and appeared to have made no effort to have the evidence of the Afrikaans witnesses translated. The majority of these Afrikaans speaking witnesses were people who worked underground and would have had a

The evidence quoted above is from the *Johannesburg Star* of varying dates during the last four months.

better knowledge of conditions. Sir Andrew replied that most of the evidence had been in English and had been sufficient to give him a general insight into matters before he compiled his report.

The Manager of the Clydesdale Collieries told the enquiry that the Coalbrook mine was so "popular" with African workers that the mine "had more boys than it knew what to do with." There was a good recruiting system at the mine and the Africans, mostly from Basutoland and the east coast, "just kept coming." This statement seems to be the crux of the matter. South Africa has an abundant supply of cheap labour in the Africans, and in order to try to raise their living standards, they go to the mines from the reserves. It is easier for them to go there than try to get to the towns to work because of the Pass Laws.

"The only interests of mine management appeared to be output and cost," said Mr. Dalling at the enquiry. This underlines our assertion that under capitalism, profit must be made at all costs—even human costs. Even under capitalism, where everything is measured in terms of how much it costs to produce, methods of obtaining power and fuel, other than coal-mining, have been devised. When we are able to make the best uses of science and new methods without the restrictions of cost, as we will under Socialism, men won't be called upon to risk their lives in the bowels of the earth for a meagre living, which is the lot of most miners today.

P. HART.

The Congo

MANY, many times, the Socialist Party has been asked to join in support of movements for national independence. Our reply in refusing to do so has always been that not only would such support result in our being side-tracked

from our work of Socialist propaganda, but that the aims and results of these nationalist movements at best were concerned with pushing forward the local and nascent ruling interests and at worst could be and usually were actively anti-working class. We have not been afraid to point out, too, that these movements which spoke so much of "freedom," "independence," "liberty," etc., were they to come to power and were they to find unwelcome opposition or criticism, would not hesitate to act in the same despotic and dictatorial manner against which they were the erstwhile protestors.

A recent case which supports this view is the recently established Congo State. Mr. Lumumba, the new Prime Minister, though new, is learning fast. He is determined to see that the new local capitalist interests are defended at all costs, even if it means getting the same soldiers, who did yeoman duty for the Belgian rulers, to do the same job for him, as the following quotation from *The Times* (29/6/60) serves to illustrate:

Mr. Lumumba gives warning . . . that he has decided to adopt all necessary measures for order to be respected and that these measures will be taken without weakness.

By the side of this article we can see what this means—black soldiers threatening black demonstrators with their rifles. Is this the freedom our opponents would want us to give up our Socialist work for?

M. JUDD.

Winds of Change

ALL over the continent of Africa, Nationalism is on the march and the battle cry is "Independence." Africans are demanding that political power be turned over to them. This, they say, would allow them to set about the problems of illiteracy, poverty and disease which the Colonialists have ignored or deliberately preserved. Offering this as the main reason for their Nationalism, they attract a lot of support and sympathy. What many people forget is that this newly won political power will be used to administer capitalism—with all the problems which white workers are already faced with.

When political independence is procured, the new powers must try to develop the economy. They need all types of heavy and light machinery,

electrical equipment, scientific instruments, chemicals, and all those materials which go into the making of the manufacturing industries. They look to this capital as a means of increasing the output of the workers and thereby causing more wealth to be produced by fewer workers in a period of time. As well as foreign investment they require foreign manpower in such fields as education, science, law and technology. In colleges and universities all over the world there are African students learning such subjects as will befit them for their respective tasks under capitalism. This and a lot more has got to be done until such times as their workers produce enough wealth to enable the country to find most of its own finance for development. An African government having the welfare of the economy in its hands will often have to warn their workers against striking or asking for higher wages. They will also have to make the normal government appeal to work hard and save and so help the African capitalists to sell their goods as cheaply as possible, to compete on the world markets against other national capitalists.

Nigeria, Somalia, Congo, are all receiving independence this year, and Kenya and Tanganyika are not far behind. In all these countries there are the grovelling bands of prospective parliamentarians waiting restlessly to take over their appointed places as the "New Governors" of the African working class. One thing Africa is not short of is leaders—they are ten a penny. Nigeria, which expects independence in October this year, has at least three political notabilities, one of whom has already been knighted for past service. This country should have no bother in attracting capital as it is considered to be "credit-worthy," for these leaders have re-assured investors about the favourable political conditions in which their investments may flourish. Somalia and British Somaliland have gained their independence. Somalia has been under the jurisdiction of Italian trusteeship, granted by the United Nations. Now Italy is passing over the responsibility to one Abdulali Issa, hoping quite naturally that he is the right man to protect any Italian interests which are left behind.

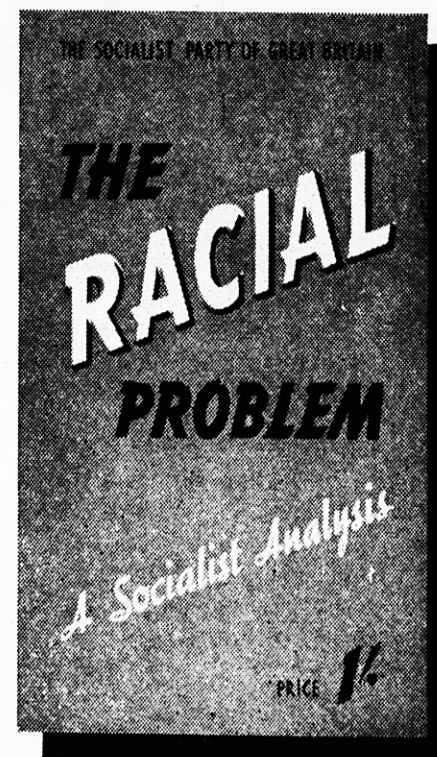
As to Kenya, is it to be Jomo Kenyatta or Tom Mboya? What will happen to the European settlers of the White Highlands and the Asian merchants who are in a minority? Can they fit into the African scheme of things? If not, and they have to leave, should the workers of Asia and Europe shed any tears? Or better still, will

the replacement of these Colonists by African farmers and merchants be a source of joy for Kenya workers? No, no and no.

Shorn of the Nationalist pomp and false desires, the plain economic truth of this rapidly developing continent means power, position and privilege for those Africans who own the tools, instruments, machinery, transport and communications and all that is produced through them. These are the people who intend to employ other Africans in order that as much profit as possible will be made out of production, just like anywhere else in the world where there is production for sale. Capitalism, wherever it exists, is primarily concerned with the amount of rent, profit or interest it can generate.

Africans, who under Colonial rule were always lamenting their oppression and exploitation might have been expected, when they became independent to seek a way of life in which no exploitation could take place. But, as Nkrumah has put it, the Africans must not do anything which might have an adverse effect on foreign investment and lead to a lack of confidence. So then, the supposed freedom of Africa is dependent upon the need for foreign capital. Thus countries which in recent times have thrown off the burden of foreign domination—India and Egypt—have found themselves as free as the horse is from the cart when tied up in the stable. And what has the independ-

Read



ence of a country to do with the independence of the workers of that country?

As the social and productive powers of the African workers increase so the surplus which they create will be the source whereby the under-developed will graduate to the developed, with banks, insurance offices, factories, stock exchanges, labour exchanges, and all the other features of a modern "civilisation."

50 Years Ago

THE JOHNSON-JEFFRIES FIGHT

[The defeat at Reno of Jeffries, by the coloured boxer Johnson, led to racial rioting in America. The following comments on the film of the fight appeared in the SOCIALIST STANDARD, August, 1910.]

Was it to be supposed that civilisation could stand it? We all know that civilisation is based firstly upon the superiority of the white to the coloured races, and secondly, upon the superiority of the capitalist to the ordinary or worker white. But what sort of an effect would these moving pictures have upon the social aspect in Africa, and what tale would they whisper into the ear of young India, and how would they be received on the banks of the Nile, where the burden of the white man's civilisation sits none too lightly on brown backs? The best black man has beaten the best white. The best black man is better than the best white. The black is better than the white.

As Japan snatched the halo of sanctity from the Western Brow when she drove the Russian legions before her, so these pictures of the best white man trying and failing to chew all he had bitten off might be taken by the dusky ones the world over as evidence that the miraculous no more belongs to the white skin than to the Western position, . . . and then goodbye to British misrule in India and Egypt, and farewell to white supremacy in East and West. And then when the worker white made the startling discovery that there was nothing inferior to him he might begin to seriously ask if there is anything superior, and such an inward searching really would place the foundations of our capitalist civilisation in jeopardy.

We invite our readers to send letters of comment and criticism. Please keep your letters as short as possible.

tion." Throughout all this development the workers must constantly seek to better their living conditions and like their counterparts throughout the world, organise themselves in trade unions. There is every reason to believe that these ambitious backward countries will break through the vicious circle of low output, primitive production and semi-starvation and become countries of full-blooded capitalism and nationhood.

When this time comes they will have attained abundant production through modern scientific and technological methods. The African workers—the cause of all this greatness—will have a "wonderful" standard of existence just like you and I. This standard includes finding a job, being at the mercy of the boss, spending the best and major part of each day in an office, factory or some other workplace. All the wealth that he comes into contact with will not have been produced primarily to satisfy needs, but in the interest of buying and selling for profit. All this—and the scheming, working, waiting and wondering, which the working class of the world do throughout their lives, always with a hope of bettering their material conditions.

It will be this that the African, Indian, Egyptian and Chinese workers will be letting themselves in for when they seek to develop capitalism in their countries.

J. M.C.G.

South African Notes

THE fight between the major political parties of South Africa takes the form of Afrikaner Nationalism versus English South Africanism. The Nationalist and United Parties are really, however, struggling over the control of the labour-power—more truly, over the surplus-value to be realised from the utilisation of the working-power—of the vast African proletariat. More simply, it is a squabble over which group, land-owning or industrial and finance capitalists, shall benefit more from the exploitation of the underfed, under-educated, under-privileged Bantu workers. Of course, the "progressives" and their allies, Liberals and crypto-"Communists," support the abolition of the quasi-feudal restrictions on the mobility of workers, e.g., the hated Pass Laws, residence permits, etc., and favour the "freeing" of labour to

develop into a fully-fledged industrial proletariat, available to add ever faster to the wealth of the Oppenheimers, Hambros, Engelhardts and their fellow industrial-and finance-capitalists.

MINING in South Africa is based on the unskilled and semi-skilled labour of thousands of low-paid, low-living African workers. Usually, the "coloured" workers are thought to be less poverty-stricken. The following is no isolated example, and surely indicates the poverty, if not actual destitution, of the parents of the children. Headed "Hot stew and clothes for children in rags," the news-item, from *The Star*, Johannesburg (1/6/60), contained the information that:

The Red Cross has adopted a ramshackle coloured school on the Main Reef Road and has undertaken to feed and clothe the schoolchildren.

The school, Aurora West Coloured School, is housed in a converted church building at the foot of the Maraisburg radio mast.

The Roodepoort centre of the Red Cross Society described the 40 pupils there as "pathetic little figures ranging in age from five to 12, obviously undernourished and dressed in rags."

From today the schoolchildren will receive a daily supply of hot stew. Many of them have already received warm clothing.

A spokesman for the Red Cross centre said that many local firms had contributed—but much more warm clothing is needed.

Some of the children walk six miles to the school in almost freezing weather with no food in thin summer clothes."

It is of interest that many of the parents of these children are more than likely employed by those "many local firms" at very low pay.

By contrast, an item in the same newspaper of the same date, entitled "Profits and distributions," indicates that the practical application of apartheid in keeping the African "in his place," i.e., poorly educated and extremely poor, and socially separate from his "white" co-worker, pays off. Top of the list comes General Mining Finance Corporation Ltd., whose taxed profit for 1959 was £1,929,000 (1958: £1,824,000); of which dividends took £1,067,000 (1958: £912,000). With eleven other listed companies or groups, this news-item totals taxed profits for 1959 as £3,470,000 (1958: £2,377,000); of which dividends took £2,377,000 (1958: £2,144,000). Of course, "we" cannot afford substantial wage-increases!

A. P. H.

Finance & Industry

Business Men in Russia

A TEAM of business men from the Institute of Directors visited Russia to meet the heads of Russian industry, "to get an overall picture of top Russian management policy in industry and commerce." An interview with one of the team, Mr. Geoffrey Kitchen, Chairman of the Pearl Assurance Co., by Mr. Alexander Thomson, City Editor of the *Evening Standard*, was published under the heading, "This Capitalist was so impressed by Russia" (*Evening Standard*, 8/7/60).

When we read what so impressed him we may surmise that he is rather naive.

He tells us:

There are no strikes. But not because they are forbidden, as we sometimes imagine. The reason is that everybody in Russia realises that strikes do more harm than good.

Mr. Kitchen accepts that this is true because his opposite numbers in Russia told him so, and, as he says, "all doors were thrown open to us. We were given every facility to ask questions. There were no barriers anywhere." But are we to take this literally? Did Mr. Kitchen actually ask his questions of Russian workers themselves, in conditions safeguarding them against possible consequences? Or did he ask only the Russian bosses (rather like being assured by the governor of a prison that all the prisoners are happy!)

Did it not seem odd to Mr. Kitchen that in all the countries of the world where workers can organise and strike with comparative impunity they do so, yet the tens of millions of wage earners in Russia decide, unanimously, not to? And note the implied criticism of British, American and all other workers, all except those in Russia: every one of the latter realises that strikes are no good, but the rest of us just haven't enough sense to see it. Perhaps Mr. Kitchen hopes that British workers who have the habit of going on strike against the advice of the managements will be a little more co-operative when reminded of the example set by workers in Russia.

Mr. Kitchen was asked by Thomson to sum up his impressions of Russia:

Both our systems seem to be working towards the same end. We are approaching it from different directions. But we are both aiming at the prosperity and

goodwill of our people.

Does it make Mr. Kitchen sad to see that while every Russian worker gratefully responds to the kindness and good intentions of his bosses, workers here still harbour unjust suspicions that their bosses have something else in view besides the "prosperity" of those they employ?

No Stability for Profits

IN his last speech as Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Heathcoat Amory, on 11th July, told the House of Commons that among his aims during his 2½ years of office had been to maintain full employment and price stability, and he was worried concerning the possibility that rising wages might endanger the stability achieved. One thing he did not achieve was stability of profits. According to an analysis of industrial company profits made by Exchange Telegraph Co. and reported in the *Evening Standard* (8/7/60) industrial profits of 2,387 companies were about 20 per cent. higher in six months of 1960 than in the first half of 1959. If the companies reporting on the rest of the year show a similar increase, 1960 will be a record year for shareholders since the end of the war. Though profits, with some setbacks, have been rising for a dozen years on no previous occasion has there been a jump of anything like 20 per cent. Between 1958 and 1959 the increase was about 6 per cent.

German Success Story

IN Western Germany there are now almost no unemployed, though for years there were rarely fewer than a million. It is an interesting example of the way capitalism "proves" that there are first too many people and then too few. When trade was stagnant, work could not be found and many people in Germany deplored the inflow of refugees from Russian-controlled Eastern Germany. Then production and trade expanded, the unemployed were absorbed and hundreds of thousands of workers are now being brought in from neighbouring countries to fill the vacant jobs.



There are other instructive things to note about Western Germany. In Great Britain employers and politicians (including the retiring Chancellor of the Exchequer, Heathcoat Amory) warn us of the importance of boosting exports, of keeping up the exchange value of the £ and of piling up a larger gold and dollar reserve. They tell us that if these things are done all will be well, but if we fail to do them we shall be in trouble. Claims for a reduction of working hours to 40 and claims for higher wages are resisted on the ground that such measures would weaken the export position of the £ and be generally dangerous.

On occasion the employers have quoted Germany as a land in which the workers work harder and longer and complain less. Let us then look at Germany: truly a capital success story. Exports booming, the mark strong and getting stronger, a gold reserve twice as large as that in Britain and production increasing much faster. Surely in such a country the government and the employers must be coming forward to reward their diligent and faithful workers, showering higher wages on them and begging them to work less hard and take more leisure?

But not at all. The German Economics Minister, Professor Erhard, talks just like the British political and business heads. The following is from *The Times* (4/7/60), reporting Erhard:

He gave warning against the union's demand for a 40-hour working week, and wondered if a slump was necessary to bring people to their senses. He criticized employers for passing on increased costs to the consumer: an annual price increase of 3 per cent. was no bagatelle, he said, if it continued year after year.

Automation was not the universal panacea. German workmanship was not what it was, and craftsmanship had an important role to play if quality was to be maintained.

Dr. Amory's "Cures"

IN our issue for March of this year reference was made to the claim that

Heathcoat Amory's 1959 budget was successful in curing the growing industrial and trade stagnation; and to the retort by Mr. Enoch Powell that the government's budget policy had nothing whatever to do with it because in the normal fashion of trade contraction and expansion recovery was already taking place before the budget could have had any effect. As he put it, "the patient was up and playing golf before he could swallow the medicine."

Now we are presented with the reverse side of the same problem. After expansion had been going on for some time, and seemingly in a manner regarded by the Chancellor as satisfactory—after all the patient was supposed to have been restored to health and vigour by medicine prescribed by him—notes of alarm were heard again and the patient's incipient fever was to be damped down by the credit restrictions and then by the higher bank rate. But if the evidence shows that the patient was on the upgrade before taking the medicine in 1959 it now seems that the fever was already passing away before the new medicine of 1960. For the idea of the credit squeeze was to lessen the hire purchase buying of consumer goods, but many critics of the Chancellor's action are arguing that sales were already falling off before the squeeze was imposed so the squeeze was unnecessary. A *Guardian* editorial (4/7/60) said:

The past week has brought fresh support for those who questioned the need for the Chancellor's latest round of credit restrictions. The Board of Trade's admission that hire purchase sales in May dropped below last year's level simply confirms the view, expressed by many manufacturers and traders, that the boom in demand for consumer durable goods had already slackened off. Reports continue to come in of growing stocks of household appliances in the hands of retailers; and Vauxhall has announced the ending of overtime on its car assembly lines. Since the pressure of the consumer boom is letting up just at the time when capital investment by industry is beginning to rise sharply, the Government ought to have been congratulating itself on achieving a desirable balance in the economy, rather than imposing new restrictions.

Mr. Andrew Shonfield, Economic Editor of the *Observer*, wrote (3/7/60)

in similar vein: "There is now firm evidence of the official figures showing that production of consumer goods by the engineering industries actually turned down in the first quarter of the year—well before the Budget"

The *Economist* (2/7/60) took the line that the Chancellor had become alarmed about the prospect of demands for higher wages being met halfway by

employers who hoped to be able to recoup themselves by charging higher prices, and that the credit restrictions were imposed by Amory in the desire to discourage that frame of mind and make wage increases more difficult. The *Economist* thinks that "once again, wages are becoming a key issue in British economic policy"—as if there was ever a time when they weren't.

H.

Aneurin Bevan

THE death of Aneurin Bevan was a terrible blow to the Labour Party. Here, we were told, was a man of humble birth who might have been Prime Minister. A man who burnt with a sincere passion against the world's harshness and injustice. But did Bevan bear any responsibility for making the world what it is? Truly, Labour have need of him now, of his scornful wit which could hold the Tories in sullen silence—or have them laughing at themselves. More even than that, Labour need his ability to unite the party in acceptance of policies which as individuals they may find distasteful. Bevan was a master at this because many Labour Party members believed that, if Nye could say with his hand on his heart that a certain course was regrettable but necessary, then it must be so. So it was at Brighton in 1957, when he made his famous speech on the H-bomb which shocked his followers and shattered the movement which up to then had been known as the Bevanites.

Now why should the death of one man be so disastrous to a party which has hundreds of thousands of other members? It seems too obvious to say that the party which can offer the most attractive leaders usually gets the most votes. Since the heyday of the Attlee era, Labour have lacked appealing leaders. No more Ernie Bevin, with his rough manner and the straying aitches. No more Herb Morrison, smooth and eloquent. Bevan seemed to be the only outstanding one left. And now that he has gone, Labour are asking themselves: What shall we do without him?

A man like Bevan is important to a party which offers itself as a potential administrator of capitalism. At election time, it must angle for the floating voter—and there is no more tempting

bait than a colourful leader, to answer the tricky questions which stump the candidate, to shake hands all round and tell everyone how worthy he is, and to explain away the hard facts of capitalist life and persuade the voters to bear the insecurity and the squalor of the system which his party wish to organise. He must justify the promises forgotten or broken, and skate over the stirring enunciation of principles which were upheld at the last election and are being quietly contradicted in this. He must, in fact, be all that the politically ignorant expect a leader to be.

Bevan filled this role to perfection. First of all, he had what they call the common touch. Who better than a one-time down-trodden miner to justify the anti-working class policies of his party? One of these was Bevan's pet, the National Health Service. This must have gained a lot of support for Labour in 1945, for many people thought that the scheme would entitle them to free access to the best possible medical treatment—and who wouldn't vote for something like that? In fact, National Health was a rearrangement of working-class poverty, which made no difference to the fact that the surest way of getting decent medical attention is to be able to pay for it. A royal birth still sends a whole clutch of doctors hurrying to the bedside. And Bevan himself died in the care of a titled personal physician. Is that an indication of what he thought of the National Health Service? The record does not end there. Bevan was a member of the Labour government when they were busy breaking strikes and getting involved in the slaughter of workers in Korea and other parts of the world. This was the government which promoted the great swindle of nationalisation, which made the shareholders more secure than before and left the workers no better off. Yet—and here is the swindle—this was said, by Bevan and others, to be Socialism.

True, Bevan sometimes produced a scathing condemnation of the Tories. He was good at this—he made a mess of Selwyn Lloyd over Suez. Yet he could be nationalistic when he wanted. Macmillan, in his House of Commons tri-

bute, called him a patriot. This is what he had to say at Bradford on 17th October, 1953:

Let the British nation take the position it is entitled to, the moral leadership of the world. That leadership does not belong across the Atlantic because America is being dominated by the same kind of mentality as dominates the government of Great Britain.

He could be scathing on the Conservatives' colonial policy—yet, for example, it was his party which imprisoned Nkrumah. (Strangely, Bevan forgot this and in the debate on Cyprus on 19th March, 1959, he actually attacked the

Tories for imprisoning the Ghana Prime Minister. The Tories had a good laugh and Bevan had to withdraw—which, of course, he did without turning a hair). He could make a touching plea for peace and security—yet he insisted that any future Labour government must have the right to make any weapons which the emergencies of capitalism may force onto them. This is what he said about the H-bomb at the Scarborough Conference in 1958:

We are not pledging ourselves to making it. We are not pledging ourselves not to making it. We don't know what kind of weapons we need. We must leave ourselves some room for manoeuvre.

The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament

WHEN Capitalism throws up some unusual problem or, what is more often the case, a new variation of an old problem, there are always plenty of sincere but misled people ready to throw their weight behind the movements that mushroom into being for the purpose of trying to deal with these phenomena in isolation from their cause. Failing to see the inter-connection and common origin of all the problems of Capitalism these people merrily waste their time and efforts tinkering with effects. One of the most plausible sounding of these movements is the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. After all, the H-bomb is such a hideous and terrifying weapon that anyone who wants to ban it is sure of a fairly wide appeal.

Nothing is more plausible than to see the H-bomb as an evil in isolation from everything else in society and set out to ban it as though it were a self-made monster without reference to the system which produces it.

Although we readily acknowledge the sincerity of people who support CND and understand their horror at the thought of nuclear war, there is no greater folly nor a more deadly danger than approaching the problem in this way.

The hydrogen bomb is the result of technical and scientific development within capitalism. Ban this weapon and keep this system with its world market and profit strategy, and science will still produce other such monsters. It must do so while science remains the servant of the capitalist class who pay for it. In fact, it is already common knowledge that other terror weapons exist. CND argue that time is short the way the world is today, so that the H-



bomb must be treated as an immediate priority. If they mean this and mankind is really balanced on the edge of oblivion, then there certainly is not time to deal with all existing and all possible horror weapons one at a time as they come up. The stark reality they must face is that to deal with capitalism is the immediate priority.

Is the CND prepared to switch the attack, get down to causes, and deal with capitalism? Alas, the very nature of the movement precludes this. Their membership is drawn from all shades of political and religious opinion. They

There is no reason to pin this sort of inconsistency on to Bevan alone. For he was only one of the many leaders of capitalism. Such men must have at least two faces—one for their public, always responsible but kindly, suggesting that its owner is incapable of hurting a fly; and the other for the Cabinet Room, realities of capitalism, for the brutal and inhuman actions and decisions which they must always be taking. It is never pleasant to hear of a death. But this must be said: Bevan played the game with the rest. He played it better than most. That is why they will remember him for a long time.

IVAN.

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The
WESTERN
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peting nations are concerned, is the capitalist way. The details of administration vary amongst the countries in both the great-power blocks, but their aims and methods of achievement are the same. It is not different ideals that set them at each other's throats; it is the scramble for resources and trade. In as much as the struggle for markets in pursuit of profit is fundamental to the capitalist scheme of things, so the conditions of conflict and war are all part of this system.

The production of armaments is a priority commitment of industry and resources for all major powers, both for their own use and that of their junior partners. To a tremendous extent since the end of the last war, world industry has been devoted to the production of means of destruction. Thousands of millions of pounds, dollars and roubles, etc., representing colossal amounts of materials and labour-time have been

poured into the world war machines. The louder the competing States have voiced their peaceful intentions, the more and more murderous have become their inventions. Weapons have been developed and scrapped. Weapons have brought forth counter weapons and counter-counter weapons in the frenzy to make us feel secure. Great hopes are pinned on summit conferences, negotiations and mass demonstrations as the working class desperately looks for a way out of the capitalists' nightmare.

To campaign for nuclear disarmament implies acceptance of so-called conventional armaments. The Socialist Party rejects this most dangerous attitude. We are often accused of taking an ivory-tower view of things that go on

in the world from day to day. This accusation is made by people who do not understand what Socialism entails. Ours is a class attitude to capitalism in general and to war in particular.

We take the view that workers of all lands have fundamentally common interests. Workers own nothing of the vast vested interests of capitalism and have nothing to fight for since no working-class issue is involved in its thieves' quarrels. This international Socialist outlook has kept us firmly in opposition to two world wars. We stick to our path not out of sectarian cussedness, but because the evidence shows it to be correct.

H. B.

Luncheon Vouchers



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L.V.—this is the symbol which can be seen in the windows of many cafes, tea shops, snack bars and restaurants. It indicates that luncheon vouchers are accepted. The symbol has also cropped up in a recent advertisement, which shows a man sitting at a meal with, on his back, the words, "To work well he must eat well . . . regularly at lunch-time with L.V." The advertisement also tells us that thousands of employers have arranged this nation-wide welfare service for the benefit of their workers. But is this all there is to say on the matter?

Many employers, when advertising vacancies, include the vouchers in the list of advantages extended to the lucky applicant. And workers fall for it: many of them, when bragging about having "an easy job," remark that, along with the five day week, holidays with pay and sickness on full pay, they also receive luncheon vouchers. How nice, to think that employers are taking such an interest in the health and strength of their workers and are not leaving this vital matter to look after itself! Just fancy, instead of having to last the day on a ham sandwich or a bun and cuppa, our worker has his luncheon voucher and a whole hour in which he can eat to his heart's content. Every day, from Monday to Friday, our lucky working lads and lasses can wine and dine at the . . . at the . . . well, wherever they can get something for a two or three shilling voucher. We can be certain that, however they may "eat well," the nurtured workers will not return to the job so full of lunch-time fare

that they are too burdened to "work well." Nevertheless, these "better-off" workers are always grateful for small mercies, free meal tickets and all, and so skipping back to work, merrily they go.

Of course, Socialists will spoil it all by pointing out that the employer, instead of including the value of a week's luncheon vouchers in his worker's pay packets, merely gives out the same amount in the form of food tokens. And often uses this as an argument when resisting wage increases. The worker thinks he is being treated to lunch, instead of looking upon it as part of "the treatment."

The question is why does the lunch on voucher amount to about three shillings instead of say, twenty-three? Simply because a worker's lunch can be bought for just about three shillings. In the same way, the total sum of all the purchases and expenses which a worker must make in order to live determines the total amount of his wages. He does not receive an unregulated sum which the employer hands out as a reward for being honest or hardworking or responsible. He gets roughly what it costs to maintain himself and his dependents.

But to return to our advertisement. We notice that its appeal is only to the employer and that it does not say "you (employer) must" but that "he (worker) must." Is, then, both the eating and the working of the working class at the mercy of their masters? For example, if the workers cannot find an employer to buy their energies, there can be no

work and very little eating. Our advertisement would not apply. Even to be allowed to work means that, to hold down their jobs, the workers must work well, try as some of them might to dodge it when the manager is out of sight. In fact, how well they work can be realised by a glance at any City Editor's column. See there the facts and figures of the company reports, of the amazing profits which are made by the workers. Read, at the end of each chairman's chronicle, the compliments to the staff for working so well throughout the year.

And why only eat and work well? If, besides that, we were all to house and clothe well and to have everything else which we need, then all would be well, except for profits which would be so ill that they would die. It is inherent in the system of commodity production that the worker's wages never tally with what he produces. The capitalist class, who own the factories, machinery and

their produce, employ workers at the price of their wage. Workers are taken on to produce both enough to cover their wage and a surplus, which the capitalist commandeers. If the worker received as much as he produced, then his employer would not be able to dictate whether he should eat well or not; that would be his own responsibility.

To get rid of this exploitation, we must have a world in which food and all other wealth is produced simply to be used. A world in which all mankind has complete freedom of access to the world's wealth, to satisfy its needs. It is the system of working for wages—whether or not they come partly as luncheon vouchers—which prevents the mass of people enjoying the full freedom and happiness which modern productive techniques can command. We need a world which works well for itself, to eat well—to live well

J. MC.G.

THOMAS MORE

Common Ownership

"Where all things be common to every man, it is not to be doubted that any man shall lack anything necessary for his private uses, so that the common storehouses and barns be sufficiently stored. For there nothing is distributed after a niggardly sort, neither there is any poor man or beggar. And though no man have anything, yet every man is rich. For what can be more rich, than to live joyfully and merrily, without all grief and pensiveness; not caring for his own living, nor vexed or troubled with his wife's importunate complaints, nor dreading poverty to his son, nor sorrowing for his daughter's dowry? . . . when I consider and weigh in my mind all these commonwealths, which nowadays anywhere do flourish, so God help me, I can perceive nothing but a certain conspiracy of rich men procuring their own commodities under the name and title of the commonwealth. They invent and devise all means and crafts, first how to keep safely, without fear of losing, that they have unjustly gathered together, and next to hire and abuse the work and labour of the poor for as little money as may be. These devices, when the rich man have decreed to be kept and observed under

colour of the commonalty, that is to say, also of the poor people, then they be made laws.

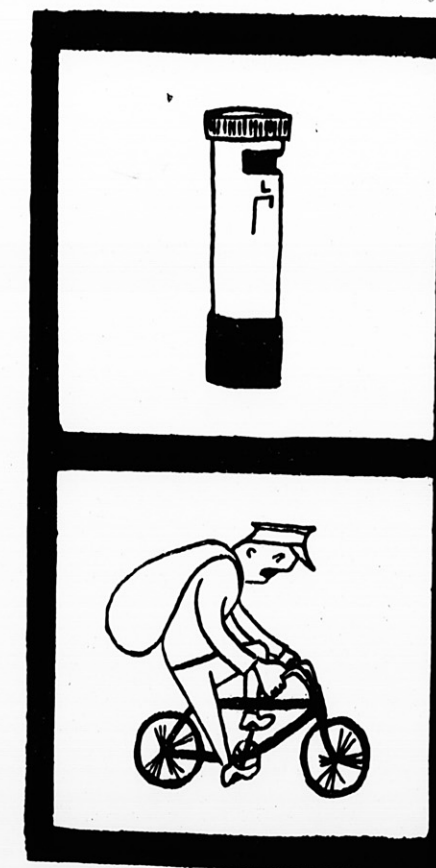
"But these most wicked and vicious men, when they have by their insatiable covetousness divided among themselves all those things, which would have sufficed all men, yet how far be they from the wealth and felicity of the Utopian commonwealth? Out of the which, in all the desire of money with the use there of is utterly secluded and banished, how great a heap of cares is cut away! How great an occasion of wickedness and mischief is plucked up by the roots!

"For who knoweth not, that fraud, theft, rapine, brawling, quarrelling, brabbling, strife, chiding, contention, murder, treason, poisoning which by daily punishments are rather revenged than refrained, do die when money dieth? And also that fear, grief, care, labours and watchings do perish even the very same moment that money perisheth? Yea, poverty itself, which only seemed to lack money, if money were gone, it would decrease and vanish away."

Extracted from the concluding chapter of UTOPIA, by Sir Thomas More (1515).

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY

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THEATRE

The Cash Nexus

THE people of a small German town foregather to welcome the return of Clair Zachanassian, a now fabulously wealthy woman who had left her home as a girl of seventeen, many years before. The town is by no means well off, and has high hopes that she will offer them a not considerable part of her vast riches. This she does, but upon one condition: that Anton Schill, a leading member of the community—her former love who had disowned her, pregnant and poverty stricken, and had her driven from the town as a whore—forfeits his life.

Outraged, the people protest in the name of humanity and refuse her extreme terms. But ever since she had been so brutally treated, Clair Zachanassian has planned retribution on those responsible. After the refusal, she proposes to gather the people, slowly and

unsuspectingly, into her power, by inducing them to incur an immense debt through extravagant living on credit which she knows they will never be able to meet. Which in turn forces them to abandon Anton Schill and condemn him to die. This briefly is the story of Friedrich Duerrenmatt's play "The Visit" produced at the new Royalty Theatre. The play's improbability is unimportant beside the sinister reality of its meaning: the power of money over the lives of men.

The progress of the play presents a remarkable study of a change in human behaviour. At the beginning, the people of the small town of Gullen, simple and easy-going folk although poor, have learned since the decline of their industry to be content with little and not to expect much more. The change in their way of life as a result of the intrigues of Clair Zachanassian, in whom they see only the obvious virtuous of a rich woman, brings with it also a complete change in their attitudes and values.

Their lives now rest on a precarious system of credit, weighed down by a fake prosperity that they naively regard as

real wealth. But with this goes fear; for what they now have they are afraid to lose. A fear that rots the fabric of their relationships with one another, for they now fear one another; afraid of treachery in the name of the humanity they once professed. Dire economic necessity can no longer sustain their once outraged principles and in the new found values they now see every justification for the death of Anton Schill. For Schill, their once respected future Burgomaster, they have nothing but hatred; they brand him as an enemy of the people who stands between them and their dreams of wealth, and they demand his life. The people, and their once despised outcast, who ironically is the anonymous owner of their decaying industry, are united, but it is the uneasy union of slave and master. By playing on their greed, Clair Zachanassian has made them bring down her revenge on their own hands, and create their own bondage.

In one of his poems, D. H. Lawrence has written that the "Work-Cash-Want circle is the vicious circle that ever turned men into fiends." The cynical disregard for humanity that capitalism inculcates makes us its playthings; its cat's-paws, as Duerrenmatt's millionairess makes the people of Gullen. We destroy ourselves in the cash race. "This," wrote Lawrence in the same poem, "is called universal freedom."

I. D. J.

Profit and Fraud

RECENTLY, the New Zealand Government bought from a firm in England thirteen brand new jet bombers. When being serviced, it was discovered that they had second hand engines. The New Zealand Government have naturally complained and at the time of writing, the matter is sub-judice. (*The Times*, 2/7/60). What is obvious is that the profit motive spares no one if the chance is there of obtaining as much as possible for as little as possible—a gibe usually thrown at the workers when they ask for increases.

The writer, many years ago, was familiar with a dairy manager who was employed by a large dairy company. One of his duties was to remove the labels from foreign honey and replace it with labels boldly stating the honey to be Pure English. This, of course, increased its value and up went the pro-

fits. Another instance was similar, but this time in a factory where a workman was given the task of removing the imprint "Made in France" and overprinting "Made in England." It is not surprising that the employer of this concern rides in a Rolls Royce.

A more recent incident of fraud was a builder who introduced himself as a Church Sidesman, but it made no difference. An unexpected Sunday visit to the work he was doing, and a difficult climb on to the roof, revealed that faulty roof timber which was scheduled to be renewed had been covered with plaster-board and that new window frames were the old ones covered with a coat of paint. It is said that all's fair in love and war. Capitalism should join them and make a trinity. The common acceptance at being caught actually crystallizes the relation between buyer

and seller in this pernicious system and should have no defence. Alas, the essence of fraud which is bound up in the present system is no bar to fame. Just witness the applause of the press and radio to those who have made the climb to the top.

Hasten the day when the workers realize that, by abolishing the money system with its profit basis and by producing for the needs of man through the possession of the tools and resources by

common ownership, there will be no second or third quality; no markets to steal by war or stealth. What a world there is for the making, where the joy of a truly social relationship of man to man could develop. The Socialist Party of Great Britain is in existence to bring this about. Come and join us. There is no other way to eliminate the injustices inherent in the present system known as capitalism.

G. B.

More Follies

"Ah, woe is me," exclaims Ophelia, appalled at Hamlet's apparent madness. What cries of woe are we today then to raise at the folly and madness of modern capitalism. At least it could be said of Hamlet's madness that it was an "antic disposition," put on all the better to mislead those around him. But what are we to say of the world around us which reverses the situation exactly. Every elaborate method and device is used to assure us that the present money-and profit-making society is the sanest possible way of life and that any suggestions to the contrary are sheer lunacy. All the more reason for the Socialist to persist in his condemnation of capitalism as an utterly crazy and insane system.

Take, for example, the "artichoke war" in France. Apparently this summer has seen in Brittany a record crop of this vegetable. Instead of everybody jumping with delight at this welcome bounty of nature, the growers and sellers are very perturbed and about 7,000 tons

(calculated to represent 15 million artichokes) have been allowed to rot. The reason? The price offered to the growers was so low that most of them refused to sell out for a loss. To make sure the price was not further depressed, they have been driving them to disused quarries after trying unsuccessfully to sell them on the markets, and have then sprayed them with diesel oil to prevent the public getting completely free artichokes. (*Times*, (29/6/60).

Under Socialism, of course, we would use artichokes for eating and diesel oil for running diesel engines. What a commentary it is on our present system that in France they use the one to destroy the other.

An interesting sidelight to the above affair is contained in the *Times* of 2/7/60. Here we find that the Food and Agricultural Organisation of the United Nations is launching an international campaign to promote a better understanding of the problem of providing enough food for the present and future population of the world. Our aim, says Mr. Sen, the Director-General, is to increase public and government awareness of the extent and cause of hunger and malnutrition. Perhaps Mr. Sen could begin his crusade of enlightenment by explaining to us why the aforementioned artichokes (not to speak of the millions of bushels of stored-up wheat in U.S. granaries) are not distributed to those in need of them. Elsewhere, Mr. Sen tells us that "hunger is seldom the result of nature's harshness; it is often the result of ignorance and human failure." Very true. Ignorance that the primary purpose of capitalist production is the making of profit and not the satisfaction of human needs, and human failure (including Mr. Sen's) to replace it with a productive system concerned only with satisfying these needs.

M. JUDD.



SCHOOLS TO-DAY

What's happening to the Schools?

The Socialist Party's recent pamphlet explains the basic reasons for the changes in modern education

6d.



From the Branches

Many years ago there was a branch of the Party in Wembley, which transferred to Chiswick and later became the Ealing Branch. Now a new Wembley Branch has been formed. It meets every Monday at 8 p.m. at Barham Old Court, Barham Park, Harrow Road, Wembley—near Sudbury Town Station (Piccadilly Line) and Wembley Central (Bakerloo Line and B.R.), buses 18, 92 and trolleybus 662 pass the door. Sympathisers in the area are invited to contact the Branch Secretary: R. Cain, 48, Balfour Road, W.13.

* * *

Ealing Branch continues to meet as usual except that there will be no meeting on August 5th. Hackney Branch has arranged a lecture on "Nuclear Disarmament" at Bethnal Green Town Hall on Wednesday, August 10th.

* * *

There will be no Bloomsbury meetings during August as their venue, Conway Hall, is closed for the month. Bloomsbury will hold its next meeting on Thursday, 1st September, at 8 p.m., in the North Room, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1, and from then onwards every first and third Thursday in each month. As is the custom in all Socialist Party meetings, visitors are especially welcome.

* * *

Many outdoor meetings are being regularly organised by London and Provincial Branches. A great amount of work is put into these meetings to make them a success, and the support of Party members is essential to complete the good work. A list of meetings is given on page 14. Please note your local meeting and assist the speakers to make our propaganda widely known.

P. H.

North West Kent Discussion Groups

Will any readers in the Bexleyheath, Crayford, Dartford, Erith, Gravesend and Welling areas of North West Kent interested in the formation of a discussion group, communicate with H. J. Wilson, 7 Cyril Road, Bexleyheath, Kent (phone Bexleyheath 1950).

Also any readers in the Sidcup, Mottingham, Orpington, Eltham, Chislehurst areas communicate with W. G. Catt, 32, Ickleton Road, S.E.9 (Kipling 1796).

THE PASSING SHOW

The Truth about the Arandora Star

WHAT a low opinion our rulers have of us! As the Second World War recedes into history, they tell us openly of the lies they fed us on during the war. Yet, no doubt, they expect us to believe implicitly anything they tell us in any future war. To disbelieve what the ruling class says in time of war ranks, in fact, as sedition.

Sometimes it is the same organ of ruling class propaganda which helped to tell us the lie in the first place which now coolly lets us know what did really happen. For example, the case of the Arandora Star. This was a liner which had been converted into a prison ship to take German and Italian internees, prisoners-of-war, and anyone else who in ruling class terminology was "an alien," across to internment camps in Canada. On one of these voyages, in July, 1940, the Arandora Star was sunk by a U-boat. Of the 1,600 prisoners and crew, half were drowned. Many of us remember what we were told at that time—the high death-roll was due to panic among "the aliens," the lifeboats were rushed, it was every man for himself, and so on. If you have forgotten, the *Sunday Express* (19/6/60) obligingly reprints the headlines which appeared at the time in its sister paper, the *Daily Express* of the 4th July, 1940. "1,500 aliens panic," the *Daily Express* told its readers: "Germans torpedo Germans—mad rush for the lifeboats."

Complete nonsense

WHY does the *Sunday Express* remind us of these (in its own words) "officially-blessed reports that the heavy loss of life was due to the panic-stricken cowardice of Germans and Italians who fought madly for priority in the lifeboats"? Why, in order to tell us that they were all lies! The article goes on: "All of a picked group of recently interviewed survivors are unanimous in dismissing this allegation as complete nonsense."

The real reasons for the heavy loss of life among the great majority who survived the explosion, despite the fact that the sea was calm and the visibility excellent, were three. The ship was grossly overcrowded; some even of the inadequate number of lifeboats had had oars,

emergency provisions and plugs removed; and, above all, barbed wire had been expertly erected on the decks, cutting off access to what seaworthy lifeboats there were.

Magnificent propaganda

The captain of the Arandora Star protested strongly to the Admiralty against the ship going to sea in this condition. He pointed out that the lives not only of the internees, but also of his crew, might depend on—for example—the barbed wire being removed. But such humanitarian considerations did not move the chiefs of the Admiralty. The captain's protests were rejected, and the ship sailed as it was. It sank with many of its passengers, who were prevented by the barbed wire from getting to the lifeboats or even from jumping over the side, still on board. And the resultant death by drowning of eight hundred human beings was ascribed by the British authorities (who knew the truth themselves) to "panic among aliens."

But don't suppose that the *Sunday Express* disapproves of this lie told by the ruling class. On the contrary, it points out what "magnificent propaganda" the truth would have made for the Axis powers. So, clearly, one only tells the truth when it won't put one at a disadvantage. The lies about the Arandora Star were told by those who claim to uphold the current politico-moral beliefs of society, including the conception of Truth as an Absolute. One could at least credit the ruling class with sincerity if it acted on the beliefs it professed to hold.

Love, honour and obey

WHILE some apologists for capitalism attempt to explain away what they consider the less justifiable parts of our political and social superstructure, there are always the fundamentalists who embarrass these good souls by taking up an extreme dogmatic position. The promise of the wife in the Church's marriage service to "love, honour and obey" her husband is a case in point. We are told in some quarters that this "obey" clause isn't as brutally primi-

tive as it sounds—it is merely figurative, metaphorical and so forth. But there are others, including the two clergymen who wrote to the *Guardian* on June 11th, who defend it to the hilt. According to these gentlemen, in a Christian marriage, if there is any disagreement the wife must obey her husband. As a commentary on Christian marriage, these contributions may be allowed to speak for themselves.

Congratulations

AT the recent wedding of Mussolini's daughter, a message of congratulations was received from the Pope. The Catholic Church has always tried to explain away its sympathy for Fascism in Italy—although this is particularly difficult in view of its present close relations with and support for Fascism in Spain. No doubt Catholics would say that this was simply a gesture made by the Pope towards a member of his Church, without any political or social significance. But how many Catholic girls, who are not the daughters of rich men or Fascist leaders, get a telegram of congratulations from the Pope when they marry?

A. W. E.

COMPANION PARTIES

Socialist Party of Australia

P.O. Box 1440 Melbourne
29 Doris Street, North Sydney, P.O. Box 2291
Sydney

Socialist Party of Canada

P.O. Box 115 Winnipeg, Manitoba

Socialist Party of Ireland

Gen. Sec: 24 Newington Avenue, Belfast

Socialist Party of New Zealand

P.O. Box 62 Petone

World Socialist Party of the United States

11 Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston 9, Mass.

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SOCIALIST STANDARD

SEPTEMBER 1960

Congo Nationalism



An anti-Lumumba Rally in Leopoldville on August 9th 1960. "The history of capitalism's colonial powers is a horrifying story of brutal exploitation. Yet the Congolese workers are wrong to believe that national independence is in their interests. As Capitalism takes root in Africa so will the social ailments of that system."

**CONGO ATROCITIES
WEAKNESS OF CND
HUMAN RIGHTS
DEMOCRATS & LABOUR
LORD HOME**

JOURNAL OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

BRANCHES

Visitors are cordially invited to every meeting

- BASILDON.** Thursdays 7.30 p.m., Craylands County Secondary School, Basildon. Correspondence: R. H. Bowie, Cranford, Basil Drive, Laindon, Essex.
- BIRMINGHAM.** Thursdays 8 p.m., "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month. Enquiries to H. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road, Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.
- BLOOMSBURY.** 1st and 3rd Thursdays (Sept. 1 & 15) in month 7.30 p.m. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.
- BRADFORD & DISTRICT.** Correspondence: Peter Hall, 10 Spring Grove Terrace, Leeds 6. Tel.: Bradford 71904 any time.
- CAMBERWELL.** Mondays 8 p.m., 52 Clapham High St., S.W.4. Correspondence: H. Baldwin, 334 South Lambeth Road, Stockwell, S.W.8.
- DARTFORD.** 1st Friday (Sept. 2nd) at 8 p.m., 7 Cyril Road, Bexleyheath. (Bexley Heath 1950), 3rd Friday (Sept. 16th) at 8 p.m., 32, Ickleton Road, Mottingham, S.E.9. (Kipling 1796). Correspondence W. G. Catt at above latter address.
- EALING.** Fridays 8 p.m. (No. Aug. 5th) Memorial Hall, Windsor Rd., Ealing (nr. Broadway). Correspondence: M. Evers, 64 Pennard Rd, Shepherd's Bush, W.12.
- ECCLES.** 2nd Friday (Sept. 9th) in month, 7.30 p.m., 5 Gaskell Road, Eccles. Correspondence: F. Lea at above address.
- FULHAM & CHELSEA.** 1st and 3rd Thursdays (Sept. 1 discussion and 15 business) in month 8 p.m. "Kings Head", 4 Fulham High Street, S.W.6. (nr. Putney Bridge). Correspondence: L. Cox, 22 Victoria House, Ebury Bridge Rd. SW1. Tel. SLO 5258.
- GLASGOW (City).** Alternate Wednesdays (Sept. 14 and 28) 8 p.m. Religious Institute Rooms, 200 Buchanan Street, C.1. Correspondence: T. A. Mulheron, 366 Aikenhead Road, Glasgow, S.2.
- GLASGOW (Kelvingrove).** Alternate Mondays (Sept. 12 and 26) 8 p.m., Partick Burgh Halls, Partick. Correspondence: R. Donnelly, 50 Doncaster Street, Glasgow, N.W.
- HACKNEY.** Wednesdays 7.30 p.m., Beihnal Green Town Hall, Room 3 (Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: S. Beck, 28, Petherton Road, N.5.
- HAMPSTEAD.** 2nd and 4th Mondays (Sept. 9 and 26) in month 8.30 p.m. Watling Community Centre, Orange Hill Road, Burnt Oak, Edgware. Correspondence: H. Young, 130 Hayling Road, Oxhey, Watford.
- ISLINGTON.** Thursdays 8 p.m., Co-op. Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N.7. Lecture or discussion after business. Correspondence: R. E. Carr, SPGB, c/o above address.
- KINGSTON-UPON-THAMES.** Correspondence: Secretary, 3, Dallington Court, Burhill Road, Merstham, Surrey.
- LEWISHAM.** Mondays 8 p.m., Co-op. Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, S.E.6. Correspondence: P. Hart, 22 Gt. Elms Road, Bromley. Tel.: Rav 7811.
- NOTTINGHAM.** Wednesdays 7.30 p.m., Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street. Correspondence: Secretary, R. Powe, 8 Swains Avenue, Carlton Road.
- PADDINGTON.** Wednesdays 8.30 p.m., "The Olive Branch," Crawford Street, W.1. (corner Homer Street, nr. Marylebone Road). Discussions after business. Correspondence: C. May, 1 Hanover Road, N.W.10.
- SOUTHEND.** 1st Tuesday (Sept. 6) 19, Kingswood Chase, Leigh-on-Sea; 3rd Tuesday (Sept. 20), 17 Cotswold Road, Westcliff-on-Sea; in each month, 7.30 p.m. Correspondence: Dick Jacobs, at above latter address.
- WEMBLEY.** Mondays 8 p.m., Barham Old Court, Barham Park, Wembley (Near Sudbury Town Station) Correspondence: R. G. Cain, 48, Balfour Rd. W.13.
- WEST HAM.** 2nd & 4th Thursdays (Sept. 8 & 22), Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E.12. Discussions from 9 p.m. Correspondence: D. Deutz, 80 Bawdsey Ave., Ilford, Essex.
- WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY.** Fridays 7.30 p.m., 146 Inderwick Road, Hornsey, N.8 (41 bus to Tottenham Lane, nr. "Hope & Anchor"). Correspondence: Secretary, at above address.
- WOOLWICH.** 2nd and 4th Fridays (Sept. 9 and 23) in month, 7.30 p.m., Town Social Club, Mason's Hill, S.E.18. Discussions at 8 p.m. Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens, Eltham, S.E.9.

DISCUSSION AND STUDY GROUPS

- BRISTOL.** Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Backfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2 Tel.: 24680.
- CHELTENHAM.** Enquiries: Ken Smith, 338 Swindon Road.
- DORKING & DISTRICT.** Enquiries: O.C. Iles, "Ashleigh" Townfield Rd., Dorking.
- MANCHESTER.** Enquiries: J. M. Breakey, 2 Dennison Avenue, Manchester 20 Tel.: Did 5709.
- MITCHAM & DISTRICT.** Tuesday (Sept. 20), 8 p.m., "White Hart," Mitcham Cricket Green. Enquiries: T. Lord, 288 Church Road, Mitcham.
- NEWPORT & DISTRICT.** Meetings at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport (Details advertised in *South Wales Argus*). Enquiries M. Harris, 26, Oakfield Road, Lightwood, Cwmbran, nr. Newport, Mon.
- OLDHAM.** Wednesdays 7.30 p.m., 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees, at above address. Tel.: Mai 5165.
- REDHILL.** Enquiries: A. A. Kemp, 19 Ashcombe Rd., Merstham, Redhill, Surrey.
- SUSSEX.** Enquiries: W. Craske, "Hazelcroft," Green Road, Wivelsfield Green, Sussex.
- SWANSEA.** Enquiries: V. Brain, 17 Brynawellon, Pencelliogi, Llanelli, Glam.

MEETINGS

PADDINGTON DISCUSSIONS

Wednesday 8.30 p.m., The Olive Branch, Crawford St., W.1

LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS

- Sundays** Hyde Park 3.30 pm & 7 pm
East Street, Walworth
Sept. 4 and 25 (11 am)
Sept. 14th (noon)
Sept. (1 pm)
Beresford Square, Woolwich 8 pm
- Thursdays** Tower Hill 12.30-2 pm
Earls Court 8 pm
Gloucester Road 8 pm
- Saturdays** Rushcroft Road, Brixton 8 pm
Hyde Park 7.30

GLASGOW OUTDOOR MEETINGS

- Saturdays** Royal Exchange Square 3 pm
(off Queen Street)
- Sundays** West Regent Street 7.30 pm
(outside Odeon Cinema)

PARTY NOTICES

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the SPGB Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4, at 7.30 p.m.

ORDERS for literature should be sent to the Literature Department, SPGB, at the above address.

CORRESPONDENCE for the Executive Committee should be sent to the General Secretary, SPGB, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4. (Telephone: Macaulay 3811).

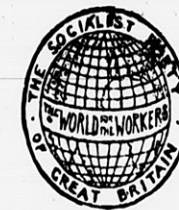
LETTERS containing postal orders, etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, SPGB, at the above address. Postal orders and cheques should be crossed and made payable to the SPGB.

CONGO NATIONALISM—continued from 131

Socialism, which will organise the world so that everyone, whatever their sex or colour of skin, has free access to the world's wealth and stands equally to the rest of humanity. There is no place for vicious exploitation in such a society.

That is the lesson for workers to learn, in Africa and over all the world.

SEPTEMBER 1960



NO 673 VOL. 56

SOCIALIST STANDARD

JOURNAL OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

CONGO NATIONALISM

AFRICA, it seems, is going to be in the news for a very long time. The latest trouble spot is the Congo, where, after the attainment of independence from Belgian rule, there were riots which apparently involved murder and rape. One news agency has described Luluabourg, in Kasai, as like a "sea of flames."

As a complication, the province of Katanga has declared its intention of remaining separate from the rest of the independent Congo. Katanga is an area possessed of tremendous mineral wealth—uranium, diamonds, zinc, iron, cobalt and copper are all there. Prior to independence, these resources were extensively worked by the powerful *Union Minière*. If Katanga succeeds in asserting its independence, *Union Minière* will probably be able to continue its operations; when this possibility became apparent, the company's shares soared. The Congo as a whole has not for a long time been a profitable source of investment for Belgian capitalists and one of the few chances of recouping some of their losses lies in dealing with a separate state of Katanga.

The wealth of Katanga is vital to the Congo: it was intended that it should make the largest contribution to easing the new State's economic difficulties. This is the sort of situation which has thrown up many a nationalist movement. Now, M. Tshombe has used the arguments of his rival M. Lumumba to work a double trick upon him—to build nationalism within nationalism. Even so, Katanga may have a hard time if it loses the services of the port of Matadi. If westward of Katanga there is a hostile Congo, M. Tshombe's government may be forced to seek an outlet for the province's commodities through the east coast ports of Dar-es-Salaam or Mozambique. Perhaps this is the basis of the rumours of a proposed alliance between Katanga and Ruanda Urundi.

The onlooking capitalist powers know that without Katanga, an independent Congo would be dangerously unstable. They also know that although this may suit some Belgian capitalists, it would not be acceptable to the other African states. Ghana is already showing a close interest in the dispute. Hence the concern of the United

Nations and Mr. Hammerskjold's warning of the danger of a war which may not be limited to the Congo.

All of this is sickeningly familiar. As the Congo struggles to establish itself among the other independent capitalist nations, so the problems of capitalism make themselves felt. The need to produce its goods as cheaply as possible and to sell them on the most favourable market—these will soon be the day-to-day concerns of the Congolese government and of any state of Katanga which may be set up. So also will the need to organise the most efficient exploitation of their workers. Already, the recent devaluation of the Congo franc is being interpreted as a measure to offset wage demands by the workers on the plantations. Doubtless, some of these workers will soon be organised into Congolese armed forces to protect the economic interests of their ruling class.

Much sympathy has been expressed for the victims of the riots and it is impossible to disagree with such sentiments. But this is not the first time that such things have been known in the Congo. It is only sixty years ago that the grisly excesses of the commissaries and agents of the Congo Free State were terrorising the natives. It is typically ironical that the victims of that savagery have not appreciated its futility and are consumed with the ambition for revenge. The Congolese, like so many others before them, have answered violence with violence.

The history of capitalism's colonial powers is a horrifying story of brutal exploitation. Belgium has played her part in making that history. Yet the Congolese workers are wrong to believe that national independence is in their interests. As capitalism takes root in Africa, so will the social ailments of that system. The troubles in the Congo will probably be smoothed over but we know that they will be followed by others, perhaps somewhere else. For example, the Congo flared up just as the Nyasaland conference was nearing agreement in London. Where will the next eruption take place?

For this situation will last as long as the capitalist social system is in existence. The only way out is to establish

continued previous page

News in Review

TOP MEN

THE rearrangement of Mr. Macmillan's government caused quite a storm. The appointment of a member of the House of Lords as Foreign Secretary was responsible for a lot of the criticism and several newspapers had hard things to say on some of the other changes. In America, Senator Kennedy won the Democratic nomination for the Presidential election in November, despite the fact that he is a Roman Catholic—and Catholics for a long time have been considered a poor political risk in the States. His opposite, Vice-President Nixon, also caused a stir by refusing to pander to some of the regional prejudices of the Republican Party and selecting a New Englander, Mr. Cabot Lodge, as his running mate.

Are changes at the top all that important? Certainly, at election and other times each party reviles the opponents as incompetent and unworthy whilst offering itself as benevolent and efficient. But whatever influence on events the political leaders may have, what really counts is the fact that society as a whole supports the continuance of capitalism. That, in the end, determines the policies and actions of the world's leaders. And capitalism is vicious and anarchic, whichever party is in power and whoever happens to be at the top in the parties at any particular time.

SEAMEN ON STRIKE

THE Merchant Shipping Act of 1894, we are told, is not an anti trade union Act but just one of those pieces of legislation which are necessary because they keep the vital wheels of society turning. The fact is that on August 11th eight seamen were sentenced to one month's imprisonment because, by striking work aboard the s.s. *Castilian*, they had contravened one of the Act's sections by disobeying a lawful order.

There are many Acts which, under the pretence of safeguarding the community's welfare, hedge round trade unionist activity with severe restrictions. One of these is the Electricity (Supply) Act of 1919, which may be used if the power station workers come out.

One simple method of safeguarding the community's welfare, keeping the ships sailing and making everybody

happy, is to grant the seamen's wage demands. As a result of the recent agreement signed by the National Union of Seamen, a steward or seaman would earn a basic wage of about £40 a month with all found. To get this up to a reasonable level, he must work a lot of overtime. When he is ashore, of course, he is much worse off.

There can be nothing but commendation for any efforts to improve the seamen's working conditions. Time was when sailors were brutal and illiterate men. Capitalism has turned them into the regimented technicians which they are today.

They are like factory workers afloat. And like any landlubber, they are forced to fight to keep their heads a respectable distance above the economic waves.

WHO'S CRAZY NOW?

THE man who claimed at Trenton, New Jersey, U.S.A., that he had built his own Atomic bomb in the basement of his house, and that it was timed to explode in 15 hours was immediately rushed away to hospital under observation. It seems that the authorities suspected him of being mentally ill. Yet scientists, who laboured for years to produce this same bomb, and even worse horrors, in the shape of hydrogen bombs, nuclear rockets, etc., are not thought to be mentally sick—oh no—they are lauded as having made a real contribution to the knowledge of society and the "defence of peace."

UPSET SWEDES

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER upset a lot of Swedes when, in his speech to the Republican Convention, he drew attention to the high suicide rate in Sweden and held this up as a warning against supporting what he called Socialism. It was rather unwise of the President to be so selective in his evidence to support his argument. Doubtless, some other comparisons would indicate that life in Sweden is preferable to that in, say, the United States. Presumably, Eisenhower was trying to frighten the American voters off the Democratic Party by associating them with Socialism. This is just as nonsensical as his assertion that Sweden is a Socialist country.

In fact, as the *Dagens Nyheter*—a Swedish Liberal paper—pointed out, Sweden's suicide rate, in a world where suicide is common, is unremarkable. It is now lower than during the five years preceding World War I and less than in Japan, Austria and many other countries. If the reasons for the majority of suicides in Sweden are the same as elsewhere, then the high Swedish rate is a symptom of the capitalist set-up in that country. For most of those who put an end to their lives do so when the strain of living under capitalism becomes too much for them. Sweden, like the rest, has the desperate problems which go with a brutal social system. Perhaps the next time an American President decides to attack Socialism, he will first take the precaution of finding out what it is?

FARTHING

WITH the beginning of 1961, the farthing will no longer be legal tender in this country. Not so long ago, this little coin could buy a pocketful of sweets. Sometimes it came as change from the artful shopkeeper whose price of, say, two and elevenpence three farthings was meant to sound much less than three shillings. Now, to use the jargon, the farthing is to be demonetised.

Many older people sigh for the days when the farthing had some use. When, for that matter, the penny and the pound were worth that much more. But there is another side to the picture. According to the Ministry of Labour indices, average weekly wage rates in 1938 were one-third of those today, whilst prices have nearly trebled.

Put in another way, the amount of real wealth which a worker's wage commands in this country has altered very little over the past twenty years. Certainly not enough to justify the laments of the old-timers or the joy of the al-right Jacks.

The fact is that a worker's wage is generally just about large enough to buy the things he needs to reproduce himself. That situation is not altered by the revaluation of currencies, upwards or downwards. In fifty years' time a British government may decide to demonetise the shilling or some other currency unit. And when they have done it the poverty of the working class will be as acute as before.

SALAD DAYS

Tomato growers in certain areas of France, where the cost of living has risen, have threatened to allow their crops to rot unless they can obtain better

prices for them. They will not be encouraged by the prices quoted in the Paris newspaper *France Soir* today.

This snippet, from *The Guardian* of 9th August, is another morsel of proof—if any more is needed—of the motive for production in capitalist society. Here is an example of food being grown, not

to satisfy hunger or desire, but to realise a profit for the owners of the means of its production. We can offer more encouragement than *France Soir*. A sensible society would grow tomatoes for people to eat and would only allow them to waste when the world's needs had been generally satisfied.

A New Foreign Secretary

SOMEBODY, somewhere, must have been rather disappointed. We were promised a hell of a fight if it happened; but the whole thing went off with hardly a murmur. Mr. Macmillan got Lord Home as his Foreign Secretary and, as usual, he got away with it.

For a long time the appointment had been common leakage, with Mr. Gaiskill, like Ancient Pistol, striking threatening poses; the *Guardian*, on 25th July, reported him as saying that "... the Opposition would object most strongly to the appointment. ..." He went on to say that it would be "... most undemocratic and entirely inappropriate in modern conditions" to have a peer as Foreign Secretary. To some, this may have sounded like a champion of the common man standing up for his rights against the dominance of the upper class. Is not Lord Home a smooth, amiable aristocrat, Eton (president of Pop), Oxford (cricket Blue failed, undistinguished degree), and so on? Is it not undemocratic to have such a man in control at the Foreign Office?

In fact, Labour's objections do not have even this flimsy foundation. For the whole business of government in capitalist society is undemocratic. In particular foreign policy, with its secret conferences and agreements, its double dealing and betrayals, cannot be openly discussed and decided. This has always been so, no matter who has been Foreign Secretary—when Labour were in power they played the game with the rest. They swallowed the camel of capitalist diplomacy, but now they strain at the gnat of the administering of that diplomacy by a member of the House of Lords. And there are other camels lurking in their digestive tract. The House of Lords itself is one, which is so well supported by the presence of Labour peers. What is democratic about that? In this House, Labour even managed to swallow the gnat of Lord Home. Lord Alexander said, on July 28th, that the Labour Party, although of the opinion that the Foreign Secretary

should come from the House of Commons:

... could not fail to admire the stature of the Leader of the House, who is now Britain's Foreign Secretary. Mixed with our desire to congratulate him ... we must regret most sincerely the loss to the House in not having him to continue as our leader.

Anybody who has been following the recent history of the Labour Party may well be surprised at their concern for democracy. Consider, for example, the interesting case of the disarmed Annual Conference. In the past, when the voting has been acceptable to the party's leaders, they have taken the Conference decision as conclusive. But now, with this year's conference threatening to upset the Labour Executive's policies on such issues as nuclear armaments, Labour has suddenly discovered, with the help of papers like *The Economist*, that their Annual Conference is not so important after all. It can express an opinion, yes. But settle future policy? No; unless it also happens to be the policy of the party leaders. The Labour Party Conference has never been a democratic affair—the pyramidal sifting of resolutions, among other things, has seen to that. But the fact is going to be agonisingly obvious when the leaders start openly ignoring the wishes of their delegates.

The Tories may not have to worry about such things—their conferences are much more predictably docile. Even so, some of them kicked up rough about Lord Home. More than one Conserva-

tive back bencher, when the rumour got about, threatened trouble, but they all fell into step under a three line whip. So Macmillan got his way, although he did arouse a rather hostile press. One newspaper suggested that the result of all the changes was to promote Macmillan himself—another was unkind enough to recall that the new Minister of Agriculture, Mr. Soames, had once managed Sir Winston Churchill's horses.

Macmillan's sternness with his own back benchers is easy to understand. He is the leader of a party which, before anything else, means to run British capitalism. This is impossible if his government must continually be turning aside to deal with squabbles and mutinies among its supporters. The Labour Party learned this in the nineteen-fifties. They also learned how costly in votes such dissensions can be, for workers usually insist that the party which governs them is united in its policies for the running of capitalism. The Tories can stomach one or two rebels—occasional Nabarro does them no harm—but further than that they will not go. And here their traditional contempt for political theory, such as Labour has always dabbled in, helps their leaders to assert control. For the Labour government tried to justify its day-to-day administration of capitalism by calling it Socialism in practice. Many Labour M.P.s opposed inconvenient aspects of their government's actions—and said that they did so because those actions were anti-socialist. Beside these theory-stuffed rebels, the floggers and hangers of the Conservative Women's Conferences are easy meat.

Whatever the end of the Lord Home affair, one thing is certain. He will not basically change Britain's foreign policy. Whatever decisions he makes or implements, he will carry on the business of promoting the interests abroad of the British capitalist class. This may mean that Lord Home will have to bargain fiercely and long, or coerce some weaker power, or surrender or betray. All of this has happened in the past, when capitalist interests have demanded it. There are many distasteful jobs to be

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY

The best introduction to the Socialist Party's case obtainable from SPGB, 52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4

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done in a capitalist society, which are necessary for the running of that society. Some of them are prosaic and unexciting. Others are extraordinary

and absorbing. One of the most distasteful and exacting is that of Foreign Secretary. Just now, the relations between the Russian and the Western rul-

ing classes are uneasy. The elegant, charming Lord Home has landed himself quite a job.

IVAN.

Atrocities in the Congo

The Congo has dominated the headlines in the past few weeks. Readers will find the following—from the SOCIALIST STANDARD of December 1914—of great interest. The information in the article was largely based on British Government White Paper, Africa No. 1, 1904 (CD 1933) and "Red Rubber," by E. D. Morel.



In the sixties and seventies of last century the great commercial countries saw enormous possibilities in the creation of new markets, arising out of notable discoveries by explorers in Central Africa, and each wished to acquire as large an outlet as possible for their own manufactures. The scramble commenced.

The discovery of the Congo Basin by Stanley was the most significant of all, and in this direction the late King Leopold II turned his attention. Having previously juggled successfully with Suez Canal and other shares, he had amassed a considerable fortune. He sent several investigating expeditions, consisting mostly of Englishmen and Germans (how strange!) assuring the world that his intentions were purely scientific and severely disinterested. To carry on this work Leopold formed a company styled "The International African Association."

This bloody and astute king capitalist played his cards like an expert. He became a member of the Aborigines Protection Society, and promised to support lavishly the missionary societies of England and America. He captured the British Chambers of Commerce by declaring that if the commercial communities supported his proposals the Congo trade would be open to them and would be exempt from all fiscal restrictions.

After a time the various powers became uneasy and jealous as to who should control this vast and rich land. Certain suggestions were considered with a view to placing it under international control. Then on the suggestion of the Portuguese it was decided to recognise the sovereignty of Portugal on both banks of the river up to a certain limit inland, to declare the river open to the world, and to place it under an Anglo Portuguese Navigation Commission to which the accession of the other Great Powers would be welcome. After introducing clauses protecting traders against exaggerated tariffs, and for the protection of the natives, (!), etc., the treaty was signed.

But Leopold had not been playing to the gallery for nothing, and immediately the treaty was denounced by the British Chambers of Commerce and the philanthropic societies. The British Government was accused of betraying national interests, and the Portuguese Government was accused by its bosses of a similar crime. France, encouraged by the clamour, became resolutely hostile, and Bismarck, on behalf of Germany, kicked. Belgium was now in a unique position, and received the reluctant support of the British Government, with a proviso to secure freedom of trade, etc. Bismarck's proposal of an International Conference was assented to, and was opened "in the name of God," on Nov. 25, 1884.

Fourteen powers were represented, and their first consideration was for the welfare of the natives! Such was the slimy cant and hypocrisy that we are told "the delegates, figuratively speaking, fell upon each other's necks and wept with emotion." They placed the Congo Basin in the hands of Leopold's company. Articles were signed to ensure the utmost freedom to all capitalists, and for the preservation of the natives, the suppression of slavery and the slave trade, and "the protection of all . . . institutions which aim at instructing the natives and bringing home to them the blessings of civilisation." We shall see, presently, what these "blessings of civilisation" were.

On August 1st, 1885, Leopold notified the signatory Powers that the International African Association would henceforth be known as the Congo Free State, with himself as sovereign of that "State." Almost immediately followed a decree claiming all vacant lands as the property of the State. Another decree limited the rights of the native to the area upon which his hut was built, whilst another prohibited the hunting of the elephant "throughout the whole of the State's territory" (three-fourths of which had never been trodden by a white man). Then they commenced recruiting an army of the most savage tribes. These natives could either volunteer or were taken in raids. For every recruit of the latter order the State officer obtained a bonus according to the physical fitness of his captive. Male children were also taken and drafted to military instruction camps to be made soldiers in due course. Having secured and trained sufficient recruits they set out with a mandate from Christendom to exterminate the Arabs, who had up to then been trading with the natives. Their object was to obtain the vast stores of ivory and rubber in the Arabs' possession and to capture their markets. This accomplished, everything was clear for Leopold and his thieves' gang to commence business.

On Sept. 21 1891 a secret decree was issued to the State officials in Africa, stating that it was the paramount duty of the Congo Free State to raise revenue, and "to take urgent and necessary measures to secure for the State the dominal fruits, notably ivory and rubber." Other regulations followed, which forbade the natives selling rubber or ivory to European merchants, and threatened the latter with prosecution if they bought these articles from the natives.

The merchants protested, and Leopold defined the position. Everything, he told them, belonged to the State—the land and the produce thereof. The natives were tenants upon State property. If they interfered with that property they were poachers; and whoever abetted them were poachers, receivers

of stolen goods, and violators of the law. How simple and concise!

Other secret documents were dispatched to the Governor-General baiting him to do his utmost to obtain the produce from the natives, "sparing no means." A sliding scale was fixed by which officials were paid. The less it cost to obtain the goods the greater the bonus; the more it cost to get the goods the less for the official. In other words, the less the native got for his ivory and rubber the larger the official's commission and the more for the thieves on top!

One can pretty well guess the nature of the orders of the Governor to his subordinates, and of the subordinates to their subordinates. Here is a typical one from Commandant Verstratten to the officials in charge of stations in the Rubi Welle district:

I have the honour to inform you that from Jan. 1st 1899, you must succeed in furnishing 4,000 Kilos of rubber every month. To this effect I give you *carte blanche*. You have, therefore, two months in which to work your people. Employ gentleness at first, and if they persist in not accepting the imposition of the State, employ force of arms.

Here is an extract from another:

Decidedly these people of Inoryo are a bad lot. They have just cut some rubber vines at Huli. *We must fight them until their absolute submission is obtained, or their complete extermination.*

Under this system £13,715,664 worth of raw produce was forced out of the Congo natives during the seven years preceding 1906 by the hirelings of this royal member of the Aborigines Protection Society and his confederates.

Let us now see how the rubber was acquired under the stimulus of bonuses and force. The information is furnished by Belgian and French traders (who, no doubt, felt sore at being outdone by the State monopoly), and travellers and missionaries. The most brutal act of the "German Huns" sinks into insignificance compared with some of them.

The procedure was by levying a tax on the villages and towns payable in kind, and State soldiers would be sent to demand payment—so much ivory or rubber as well as food stuffs—every week or month as the case might be. But let the eye witness describe. The following is an extract from a letter written as early as 1892 by a resident of Likini.

The frequent wars upon the natives undertaken without any cause by the

State soldiers sent out to get rubber and ivory, are depopulating the country. The soldiers find that the quickest and cheapest method is to raid villages, seize prisoners, and have them redeemed against ivory, etc. . . . Each agent of the State receives 1,000 fr. commission per ton of ivory, and 175 fr. per ton of rubber.

This, the reader will notice, was about a year after the decree urging the officials to secure the "dominal fruits." The bloody events that followed have never been surpassed. The following is from the diary of E. J. Glave, an "independent English traveller" who crossed the Congo in 1894-5. It appeared in the "Century Magazine" in 1896:

Up the Ikelemba away to Lake Mantumba the State is perpetrating its fiendish policy in order to obtain profit. War has been waged all through the district of the Equator, and thousands of people have been killed. Many women and children were taken, and twenty-one heads were brought to Stanley Falls, and have been used by Captain Rom as a decoration round a flower bed in front of his house.

The following piece of information was given to the British Consul, Roger Casement, and is quoted in his report (p. 43):

Each time the corporal goes out to get rubber, cartridges are given to him. He must bring back all not used; and for every one used he must bring back a right hand. . . . Sometimes they shot a cartridge at an animal in hunting; they then cut off a hand from a living man. . . . In six months, on the Momboyo River they had used 6,000 cartridges, which means that 6,000 people are killed or mutilated. It means more than 6,000, for the soldiers kill children with the butt of their guns.

If a soldier returned to his station without a sufficient number of hands to make up for the rubber he had not brought, he was shot by his superiors. A native corporal described how in one day he had brought 160 hands home to his officer and they were thrown into the river. Another individual testifies to a village (Katoro) being attacked. Many were killed, including women and children. The heads were cut off and taken to the officer in charge, who sent men back for the hands also, and these were pierced and strung and dried over the camp fire. On another occasion a large town was attacked: hands and heads cut off and taken to the officer. The witness said: "I shall never forget the sickening sight of deep baskets of human heads."

According to Roger Casement many had their ears cut off; also the native

soldier, after being told, "You kill only women; you cannot kill men," would mutilate the bodies and carry the sexual organs to the officer. In fact, in the Mongalla massacre of 1899 the agents confessed to ordering sexual mutilation. Consul Casement says that "this was not a native practice, but the deliberate act of soldiers of an European administration . . . and that in committing these acts they were but obeying the positive orders of their superiors."

In some cases when protests were made to the Congo Courts a mock trial ensued. Lacroix, one of the agents in the Mongalla region was thus held up, and he confessed to having been instructed by his superiors to attack a certain village for shortage of rubber, and to having killed in his raid many women and children. He said:

I am going to appear before the judge for having killed 160 men, cut off 60 hands; for having crucified women and children, for having mutilated many men and hung their sexual remains on the village fence.



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Terms of imprisonment were inflicted, but were never served. Why? Because "they had acted on instruction."

The Congo Free State is split up into several "Companies" or "Trusts," each occupying a specific area. One named "The King" was worked in the interest of Leopold's private purse. Other portions were handed over for stewardship to financiers, "personal friends and officials of his European Court," etc. In the "Companies" the King or the State usually held half the shares. One is named the Anglo-Belgian India Rubber Company. In six years this company, with the aid of the State soldiers, made a nett profit of £720,000 out of the rubber slave trade on a paid-up capital of £9,280! Thus each share of a paid up value of £4 6s. 6d. has received £335 in the same time. King Leopold held 1,000 of these shares.

However, it seems quite clear that, although the Belgian capitalists, backed by the arms of the State, had a big hand in this dirty business, there was along with them the international gang of plunderers. If this were not so, why was it that, although the evidence of these devilish horrors was before the Governments of America, Italy, France, Portugal, Germany, and the rest of them for years, they did not move to stop them? Why was it that for six years the British Government was continually having reports of atrocious maladministration on the Congo and yet refused to move? Why, indeed, did it absolutely suppress these reports—which it has never yet made public? Sir Henry Johnston, who has travelled a good deal in that direction, is evidently in the know. He says: "If there have been bad Belgians on the Congo, there have been bad Englishmen, ruthless Frenchmen, pitiless Swedes, cruel Danes, unscrupulous Italians." (See preface to Morell's "Red Rubber.")

1960 POSTSCRIPT

These were the atrocities which were responsible for the formation, at the beginning of this century, of the Congo Reform Association. One supporter of the Association was the late Arthur Conan Doyle, who in 1909 wrote a lengthy pamphlet called THE CRIME OF THE CONGO. This pamphlet was an account of the barbarities which the agents of the Belgian rubber companies committed against the Congo natives. Some of the examples given by Doyle also appeared in the SOCIALIST STANDARD of December, 1914.

Even in a world which is accustomed to organised savagery, Doyle's pamphlet is shocking to read. But one piece of it induces a grim smile on the reader's face:

Sir Edward Grey has told us in his speech of July 22nd, 1909, that a danger to European peace lies in the matter. . . . Whence does it come? Is it from Germany, with her traditions of kindly home life—is this the power which would raise a hand to help the butchers of the Mongalla and of the Domaine de la Couronne? . . . Both in the name of trade rights and in that of humanity Germany has a long score to settle on the Congo. . . . Or, lastly, is France the danger? . . . For my own part, I cannot believe it. I know too well the generous, chivalrous instincts of the French people. . . .

Consider the work of the kindly, home-loving Nazis. The most brutal of Leopold II's commissaries would have been aghast at their concentration

camp. The French have shown us in Algeria that they have instincts other than the generous and chivalrous. Obviously, Doyle was wide of the mark when he thought that only the Belgians were capable of perpetrating such outrages.

Are we, then, being wise after the event? No. Socialists know that, when they expand their influence by conquest and colonisation, the capitalist powers often resort to violent coercion. And because we know that as capitalists they all have the same interests, we have never supported one ruling group against another. Atrocities which are committed in the process of expanding an empire are not the work of only one or a few countries. Every colonial power has done its share. Violence and terror are part of the atrocious capitalist system of society.

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.

Nuclear Disarmament

The Weakness of CND

"Writing only a few years after the end of the second world war and witnessing on every hand the active preparations for another on an even more gigantic scale, it is not necessary to emphasise that war is literally an issue of life and death for men, women and children in every part of the globe. Nor is it necessary to prove at length that another war may be immeasurably more destructive of life and the means of sustaining life than were the wars from which the human race has suffered already during the present century. Everyone who takes even a casual interest in news of the atom and hydrogen bombs and other weapons of mass destruction of cities and peoples has received some impression of the agonising fate that may be in store for all the centres of civilisation if the Powers again come into armed conflict."

SOCIALIST PARTY AND WAR,
June, 1950.

TEN years ago, the writer stood on a little wooden platform in a North London suburb, flourishing a copy of the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists. With youthful earnestness he was haranguing the multitude—eight members of the local branch (trying hard to look like genuine strollers stayed by the speaker's eloquence), one school boy, two very old gentlemen, one "mum" encumbered with Saturday shopping, and, of

course, the alert and sympathetic mongrel.

The atomic scientists had written with concern, many with disgust—about the terrible effects of the weapon (conceived in 1942), which in desperate haste, the American Government was developing in an attempt to maintain its atomic supremacy—the "Hydrogen Bomb."

Few stopped to listen. People did not want to hear about nuclear weapons or war or politics. They had had their fill. The piteous agonies of the people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were relatively unknown and their import not understood. Such knowledge tormented only an insignificant few who lacked the resources to make known all the terrors of the past and the perils of the future. Others even more knowledgeable, such as the Labour Cabinet, under Mr. Attlee, whose representative was present at the bombing of Nagasaki, quietly arranged the making of a British atomic bomb—thereby smoothing the way for nuclear weapon development under the Conservatives. The so-called Communists who in 1945 had called for further attacks on Japan, were engaged in nullifying the western monopoly of atomic striking power by a hypocritical "Ban the Bomb" campaign.

Later, in 1954, the tragic incident of the Japanese fishermen aroused the anger of millions in Japan and stirred many thousands in other countries to protest. In Britain information about

the nature of atomic weapons was gradually assimilated and after a number of false starts, the National Campaign for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests came into being. From it, in 1958, sprang the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND). Long before the emergence of CND, members of the Socialist Party had become aware of the problems associated with nuclear warfare and weapon tests. Did the use or testing of nuclear weapons make it necessary to modify our political standpoint in any way? Must we deal with the nuclear menace first in order to make the world safe for Socialism? Much discussion ensued and in this article, therefore, we put forward a point of view which is neither a dogmatic response to a new situation nor a hastily conceived compromise designed to gain political support.

As there are still a number of "Campaigners" who are attempting to change Labour Party policy, it may be useful to comment briefly on the Labour Party's actions in the past. In its history it has supported several major wars; it was in office when the atomic bombs were dropped on Japan. It has supported the testing of nuclear weapons and in fact, is committed to the use of hydrogen bombs in an "all-out" war.

Those who support the Labour Party—which is alleged to have been struggling for Socialism and the "Brotherhood of Man," are now reduced after fifty-four years of "Socialist" thinking and re-thinking, to seek CND support on grounds which, were the issues not so tragic, would be laughable. After having played a vital part in the making of atomic weapons they have the effrontery to claim a sympathetic hearing from "Campaigners" on the grounds that a minority of the Labour Party are now wholly or partly opposed to nuclear weapons—and this is supposed to be a Socialist Party!

In 1950, the writer recalls asking a Labour Party member how he could reconcile his party's support of atomic weapons with its professed concern for human brotherhood. After a very apologetic defence, his parting words were, "Ah! Wait till the conference! We'll show the right-wingers!" Every year we have heard the same pathetic tale. Now, when pressure from CND and elsewhere has made an anti-nuclear weapon vote a possibility at the Labour Party Conference, the Parliamentary Labour Party is considering ways to avoid implementing such a decision!

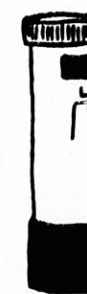
It is a tragedy that so many well-meaning people spend their lives attempting to build a more sensible world through the Labour Party. If they pondered deeply they would see that in the early days of this century, when Labour Party supporters chose to disregard the sounder theoretical (and therefore more practical) position of the Socialist Party, the path was taken which eventually led to Labour Party support of the trench massacres, the deliberate saturation bombing of working class dwelling areas, the atomic bombings, nuclear weapons and their testing and other chemical and bacteriological weapons. May we say to those young people who seek to use the Labour Party as an instrument of social change, that the problems which now confront us are, in fact, the result of the allegedly more practical policies of those parties prepared to administer capitalism. It would be quite illogical to assist those who bear a share of the responsibility for a world where our innocent children play in the shadow of deadly rockets, as yet unaware of the insidious strontium in their bones.

What have we to say about the Campaign itself? To Socialists, to see so many people expressing their displeasure, after a long period of political inactivity, at the stupidity and recklessness of their rulers, was a refreshing change. Discontent, however, if it is not to undergo an eventual decline from determined idealism to a hopeless cynicism, must partake of sound theory. What has held "Campaigners" together, so far, has been a common revulsion against one of the weapons of mass-murder and a belief that even if the movement was divided in its aims and methods, it was the only means by which the semi-apathetic majority of ordinary people, on whom the pro-Bomb parties relied for support, could be shaken from their dangerous lethargy.

When one examines the propositions of the Campaign*, its inadequacies can clearly be seen. CND says that all wars, even if they did not start as nuclear wars, would become nuclear wars, because the losing side would use nuclear weapons. If it accepts that all wars are going to be nuclear wars and it claims to be opposed to nuclear wars, then it follows that it should oppose all wars. It does not take up this position, however, for at no time does it advocate opposition to conventional weapons.

The fundamental weakness of the

* *Sanity or Suicide*, page 8.



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Campaign is emphasised in one of its own comments on the subject of nuclear weapons, for it says: "Even if they had been outlawed and stocks destroyed, the knowledge would be there in the heads of the scientists and they'd be made again." In other words, even if the Campaign achieved its aim it would soon have to start all over again... and again! If, as it suggests, however, society would not survive another war, it would be wiser to take sound political action *now* rather than wait to see the awful results of an admittedly futile policy.

Some "Campaigners," while agreeing that capitalism is the cause of war in the modern world, maintain that although a new social organisation may be necessary, a nuclear war would prevent the establishment of this, perhaps for all time, and therefore the anti-nuclear movement should be given priority over Socialism. This argument is logically unsound; it *assumes* that

which has yet to be demonstrated. It presupposes that the Campaign *will* be able to prevent a nuclear war occurring. For the Campaign to "succeed" it must have a majority of people who are opposed unconditionally to nuclear weapons, in the major countries of the world. These majorities must be prepared to oppose their own governments, to put aside all nationalistic feeling or racial prejudice and be immune to all attempts of their rulers to influence them during periods of international crisis and tension. Is it possible that such internationalist solidarity could be achieved by a movement which is composed of so many fundamentally diverse elements and which lacks any clear conception of an alternative to our inhuman social system? Only a revolutionary Socialist consciousness could ensure such a united unshakeable attitude and in that event the question of opposition to nuclear weapons *alone* would be redundant.

Some members of CND are conscious of its lack of a positive social policy and they have devoted much effort in examining the causes of war and other current social problems. It does not seem, however, that the depth and value of the genuine Marxist analysis of society have yet been understood. The leaders of the Campaign still have many illusions about the effectiveness of the United Nations Organisation as an instrument for peace, although they are not unmindful of the economic and political pressures which can be brought to bear on it by the two great power blocs. Sincere attempts to initiate a serious discussion within their movement seldom go beyond a humane liberalism; even the contributions of its associates in the New Left movement are devoid of any ideas radically different from their political predecessors of past decades.

B.

Finance & Industry

American Democrats & British Labour

In their economic policy and ideas on the way to deal with threats of unemployment there are many resemblances between the American Democrats and the Labour Party, and both have been much influenced by Keynesian theories. The following summary of the Democrats' policy in the Presidential election, written by a correspondent of the *Economist* (6/8/60) could almost all of it have been written about the Labour Party and their slight differences from the Conservatives:

The Democrats assert that the past eight years have consisted of "two recessions... separated by the most severe peace-time inflation in history," and they blame the Administration's tight money policy for the present slackness in business. They blame credit restraint also for adding to the cost of servicing the growing public debt. The Democrats offer to end the tight money policy and to set the economy moving forward at the brisk rate of 5 per cent. each year "without inflation." How inflation can be avoided is not revealed in detail, although "a variety of remedies" is said to be at hand; since monetary and credit policies properly applied are among these, it is not clear how the Democratic policy would differ from the Republican in practice. The Democrats are, however, more willing than are the Republicans to counteract recessionary trends by prompt spending

on public works and by temporary tax cuts.

It will be seen that the Democrats and the Labour Party both favour low interest rates and a policy of encourag-



ing a greater expansion of production; and both accuse their opponents of having been responsible for inflation and high prices—forgetting how inflation went on when they were in power, up to 1951 in Britain and 1953 in U.S.A. Both parties believe that it is now within the power of a government to rule out for all time the possibility of a severe depression, and if anything approaching a severe depression does occur under Republican or Tory government it will be blamed on their perversity or ineptness.

Of course, experience of Labour and

Democrats in office before the last war did not support their confidence about their powers. The British Labour Party came in with a promise to reduce unemployment (then at about 1,100,000) and saw it leap to 2½ million. In U.S.A. Roosevelt was elected in 1933 and seven years later unemployment in U.S.A. was still 14.3 per cent. (16.9 per cent., according to the American trade unions).

EXPORTS

MR. MACMILLAN has been exhorting business men to increase their exports and to cultivate what he called "export joy," but he made it clear that what is wanted is an aggressive selling policy in overseas markets. As all the newspapers backed him up, as also did some trade union spokesmen, we may assume that selling more goods in foreign countries is generally considered "a good thing."

But, elementary as it may appear to be, there are numberless people who write about trade who have never yet grasped that one country's exports are another's imports. So we read in the *Sunday Dispatch* (17/7/60) that many of the 400 of Britain's trade chiefs who are being urged by MacMillan to join in the fun of selling more abroad, could

see nothing at all funny in the Japs "selling more abroad" in Britain. On the contrary, they "were seething yesterday as they digested the Jap pact," which "will flood Britain with an extra £3,000,000 worth of cheap Japanese goods." The ground for their anger was said to be the cheapness of the Japanese goods, against which British manufacturers could not compete—but it is certain that every additional ton of British goods sold in a foreign market through the export drive will work up some local manufacturer into seething indignation, too.

On a commentator on MacMillan's speech (*Daily Herald*, 18/7/60) recalled that "this is the biggest 'export crisis' session since the days when Sir Stafford Cripps went round the country exhorting British industry to make its post-war export drive." He might equally and more usefully have recalled an earlier speech of Sir Stafford Cripps, made during the war, when he said that "If... we were to start once again the vicious circle of international trade competition we should be lost, and in a few years would be confronting another war."

WORLD FOOD

EARLY in August a Freedom from Hunger Conference was held at Oxford under the auspices of the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief. Lord Boyd Orr, former Director-General of the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization spoke, as he often has before, about the almost boundless possibility of increasing world food production:

If the nations of the world will co-operate, we can wash out the hunger of the world in ten years, and provide enough food for the increasing world population for the next 100 years." (*Daily Telegraph*, 2/8/60.)

He attacked the profit motive and complained that only in war-time will governments set out to provide food according to human need—at which time, though he did not say this, they will also organize for destruction of life and property utterly without regard to cost.

The Assistant Director-General of U.N. Food and Agriculture Organiza-

tion, Mr. Veillet Lavalée, said that "there is now less to eat in the Far East than there was before the war," and "in some parts of Africa 80 per cent. of the children are underfed or badly fed." (*News Chronicle*, 1/8/60.) He also stated that North America's surplus wheat now amounts to 1,382,000 bushels a year and that it costs £350,000 a day to preserve the surplus which they hold because they cannot sell it.

BOOM IN LAND

FOR weeks the newspapers and politicians have been discussing the rocketing prices of land as more and more keen buyers chase after the shrinking acres available for use as building sites. Nearly ninety years ago Frederick Engels wrote a series of articles on the *Housing Question* for the Leipzig Social-Democratic paper *Volkstaat*. In them he had this to say about the situation then:

The growth of the big modern cities gives the land in certain areas, particularly in those which are centrally situated, an artificial and often colossal increasing value; the buildings erected in these areas depress this value, instead of increasing it, because they no longer correspond to the changed circumstances. They are pulled down and replaced by others. This takes place above all with workers' houses which are situated centrally and where rents, even with the greatest overcrowding, can never, or only very slowly, increase above a certain maximum. They are pulled down and in their stead, shops, warehouses and public buildings are erected. Through its Haussmann in Paris, Bonapartism exploited this tendency tremendously for swindling and private enrichment. But the spirit of Haussmann has also been abroad in London, Manchester and Liverpool, and seems to feel itself just as much at home in Berlin and Vienna. The result is that the workers are forced out of the centre of the towns towards the outskirts: that workers' dwellings, and small dwellings in general, become rare and expensive and often altogether unobtainable, for under those circumstances the building industry, which is offered a much better field for speculation by more expensive houses, builds workers' dwellings only by way of exception.

But what goes up sometimes comes down equally fast and some land booms end in a crash. There are reports already that much of the recently built office accommodation is not meeting additional demand but squeezing out existing older buildings. The *Star* (19/7/60) had the following about a land crash in Venezuela:

Just when there is a great to-do about soaring land values in Britain here is some news about a land boom that has gone bust.

Out in Venezuela they have had one of the biggest slumps in land values since the famous Florida crash in the 20's.

Office blocks, houses and property in Caracas have come tumbling down in price with the growing inability of Venezuela to sell her glut of oil in world markets.

In Caracas landlords, who three or four years ago could demand almost any price for accommodation, are now virtually bankrupt. For most of them have raised huge loans on inflated values, which have disappeared over night.

According to the *Star* some of the depressed property in Venezuela was backed by British and American insurance companies.

H.

KING OF SIAM

It is said that today's kings and queens are a ruling class indulgence. From recent press reports, it would appear that an exception is the King of Siam, who with his Queen, recently made his first State visit to this country.

Great play was made of the young King's activities outside of his constitutional duties. It would appear that some of his pastimes include fast cars and jazz. As a claim to his reputed democratic outlook, it is reported that his children study with 40 other youngsters. What is the other side of the picture? A semi-translation of the word "Thailand" means "Land of the free," and yet conscription for two years is imposed upon every Siamese male. All political parties are banned. In 1959, a Thai national was executed for printing and distributing communist literature. The detention without trial continues of over 100 political prisoners. In Siam, no man can stand higher than the monarch and all Siamese who approach him must bow down on all fours. For nine-tenths of the people, he is their direct link with the gods. It was not so very long ago that a queen of Siam died when her boat overturned

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in a lake, as no one dared touch her head.

And we should not forget that extreme poverty exists in Thailand—according to some reports, it is about the worst in the world.

Apart from tin and rubber, Thailand's importance to western capitalism is in her closeness to China. Whilst it may be true that she is the only independent kingdom in south-east Asia that never became a colony of a foreign power, her geographical position, together with American aid, have combined to add yet another sphere of influence to the western powers. Hence the need for

Thailand's ruling class to maintain its constitutional monarchy as a symbol of national stability.

We are told that the Siamese King's main object is to get out of Thailand, not, as one might assume, "while the going is good," but to get about and learn with a view to be able to instruct his advisers and Government with a greater "sureness of touch." But reading of his London itinerary with all its pomp and circumstance should convince one that it is the puppet masters back in Thailand who hold the strings and make the decisions.

W. G. C.

UNO and Human Rights

WHEN the diplomats and politicians of the various capitalist states get around conference tables, they very often snarl at one another and engage in mutual mud-slinging like a lot of spoiled children. They are looked up to as the representatives of nations and although they really represent only a small minority in each country, the capitalist class, workers are taught to regard them as great men. The average worker feels dwarfed and powerless beside these "mighty" minds, who have often met and not even been able to agree on an agenda or have had head-on battles over the shape of the table. Regardless of their different native tongues, they all speak the language of "King Capital" in the conference chamber. In the highly distrustful atmosphere which prevails among the highly dignified gentlemen who gather in these highly iniquitous places, there is a marked tendency to be regarded as naked unless clad in the "protective" armour of the hydrogen bomb.

Back in 1948 when the war was still fresh in everybody's memory, these henchmen of the world's ruling class were capable of sounding very lofty and humanitarian. Obviously after six terrible years of the unlimited butchery of working class men, women and children all over the world, the warlords had to make a show of peace-loving. The victims (or rather future victims) must not be allowed to get suspicious of the boss's motives. Hence the vast propaganda agencies. Hence that elaborate white-elephant, the United Nations Organisation.

The Declaration of Human Rights was proclaimed in December, 1948, by

the General Assembly. It is worth while looking back at some of the articles in this declaration to see just how incapable of realisation these high-sounding ideals are under capitalism.

Article 1 of the International Declaration of Human Rights affirms "*All men are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed by nature with reason and conscience, and should act toward one another like brothers.*"

When capitalism really caught up with this U.N. dream in 1950, the U.N. became an instrument of war in Korea. Brotherhood and Reason were replaced with bloodshed and ruthlessness.

It is impossible to give here half the instances, where capitalism denies reason and brotherhood, but over-riding all else is the world-wide division of society into capitalist and working class. The ownership of the means of living by a few and the resultant exploitation of the many is the foundation upon which capitalism is reared. All antagonism arises from this fundamental cleavage of interest. What "equality" or "dignity" is possible within this relationship?

Article 2. "*In the exercise of his rights everyone is limited by the rights of others and by the just requirements of the democratic state. The individual owes duties to society through which he is enabled to develop his spirit, mind, and body in wider freedom.*"

The just requirements of the democratic state, find expression in things like conscription and often involves many people being blown to bits. Although this clause sounds very noble, because the "society" to which "the individual owes duties," is capitalism,

the freedom to develop spirit, mind and body, for the majority of people, takes the form of working all day in somebody else's factory, mine, or office.

Article 3. "*Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race (which includes colour), sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, or national or social origin.*"

What a prime piece of hypocrisy this clause is. Remember that America, Russia and Britain were parties to the Declaration. Russia has been a dictatorship since 1917, with only one legal political Party. America has its witch-hunts which produced the dreads of McCarthyism. Britain has, in its so-called family of nations, South Africa, with its brutal race laws.

A book, *Minorities in the New World*, by Wagley and Harris (Columbia University Press, 1958), has this to say:

"in the nation which has the world's highest standard of living and a heritage of equality of opportunity for all men regardless of race, creed, or nation origin, approximately fifteen million Negroes in the United States have suffered from some of the most severe forms of economic, residential, educational and personal discrimination." [page 19].

"In 1919, when millions of servicemen returned and looked for their old jobs, no fewer than 26 race riots broke out in American cities. The worst of these took place in Chicago. Twenty-three Negroes were killed, and 178 Whites and 342 Negroes were injured. A second rash of race riots developed during and after the Second World War, coinciding with a second wave of Negro migration from the South to the North. Economic insecurity of the Whites, and fear that the Negro is 'rising' have been the principal causes of these outbreaks." [page 135].

We have already mentioned the crippling limitations which "social origin" places upon members of the working-class of both sexes and all nations and colours; let us press on to Article 4.

"Everyone has the right to life, to liberty and security of person." While the lives of the working-class are spent making profits for the Capitalist Class, to talk of "liberty" is a mockery.

The world's populace has never had less "security of person" than today with the ruling classes represented by the same diplomats and politicians (or their successors) threatening each other with annihilation when they fail to agree about the division of the plunder.

Article 5. "*Slavery is prohibited in all its forms.*" If the capitalist class could not trust their legal word-spinners, this would be a very startling clause indeed. As it is the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, is just an empty mass of verbiage. Not a finger has been stirred by U.N.O. to remove wage-slavery. In fact, as more and more countries develop capitalism (instance Africa, India and China), wage-slavery is invading every last corner of the earth's surface. The wages-system will require more than a U.N. proclamation to prohibit it.

To sum up, the following observation must be made. Proclamations will never abolish the economic conditions or the ignorance and narrowness from which racial discrimination arises. The man standing in a London bus queue can be heard to say, on seeing a coloured man drive by in a car, "They know how to get in, don't they?" The resentment of individuals over housing and jobs find many petty forms of ex-

pression. These are rooted in the very nature of capitalism. In a society based on a privileged and an exploited class relationship, finding scapegoats is inevitable as an outlet for the frustrations and privations suffered by the working class.

The U.N. declaration was perhaps never meant to be taken seriously. It was never intended to touch the fabric of capitalist society. If it can help to kid the workers that something will be done to keep them happy, it will have served its purpose. The present position shows the hazards of having faith in leaders. The way out is for workers themselves to understand their subject position and by taking enlightened political action for the first time, make the means of production the common property of all mankind. This will abolish their undignified status as wage slaves, and in the same move relieve the masters of cant and humbug of the task of drafting windy declarations.

H. B.

"Socialism" in Cuba

Home and Abroad is a news review programme which the B.B.C. regularly stages after the 9 o'clock news. A recent edition of this programme chose as an item for airing the seizure of the oil refineries in Cuba by Dr. Fidel Castro's government.

On one side, Mr. Patrick O'Donovan, for the B.B.C. On the other, Mrs. Lee Hall, an American ready to stick up for her country. It was a very brief interview, with only three points to make up the gist of the discussion. Mr. O'Donovan led by asking Mrs. Hall, was not America too ready to answer back all the charges which Castro's government were making against it? Mrs. Hall conceded that this may be true, but came back by saying that Americans had to be vociferous, at least, about having their property taken away from them. She followed up by thinking aloud that Cuba may be considering building up a Socialist state—like China, she said, and that the Cubans may find it difficult to operate the oil refineries without help. And things might get tough in Cuba if the U.S.A. were to stop buying all their sugar from them. (Which has, in fact, happened.)

Mr. O'Donovan's counter was to remind Mrs. Hall that, when Nasser's government seized the Suez Canal, quite

a number of people were convinced that the Egyptians would not be able to work it without British or French help. As it happened, the Egyptians succeeded. Without a doubt, Mrs. Hall was sharp to pick up O'Donovan on his first question: and he was equally fast in clinching the last point. But what about the middle point, which went unchallenged, that Cuba may be building a Socialist state?

In fact, to talk of a Socialist state is to talk in contradictions. For the state is a machine designed to maintain the subjection and exploitation of the large mass of the people by a few. It developed when the production of wealth surplus to the needs of the producer became possible. Its function was to protect the system of the expropriation of that surplus wealth. Thus, it is a very old institution—and now that we live under capitalism, with its exploitation of the working class under modern industrial conditions, it still carries out the same function. Today, as ever, the state is there to preserve and protect the private ownership of the wealth, power and privilege of the relatively small dominant class in society.

Part of the state's work is in the organisation of the military machine.

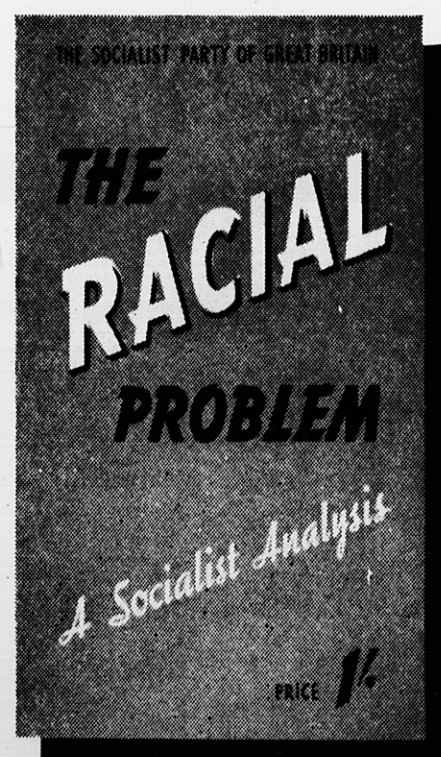
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This is a world in which wealth is produced with the object of a profitable sale. This means that nations are always in keen competition for markets and so forth. In continually seeking to outdo their foreign competitors, they land themselves into all manner of risky situations. These in turn cause the perpetual crises, diplomatic wrangles and international tensions which we all know so well. The armed forces, run by the State, are there to push each nation's interests in these disputes.

And that is the sort of situation which Cuba, Russia and the U.S.A. are in at the moment. Russia has surplus crude oil which she is willing to exchange for Cuba's surplus sugar. Doubtless, the deal could go on as long as both found it profitable. But the U.S.A. had a lot

of interest in Cuban oil refining for a long time and had been buying their sugar at more than the world price. So it seems that the deal between the two powers was done at the expense of a third. A typical capitalist set up, whatever the form of the competing governments—monarchies, republics, autocracies, democracies, dictatorships or any others.

Capitalism is a social set up which produces goods for sale. Socialism will be a society which makes things because people need them. Capitalism has competition, the wages system, the state. Socialism will have cooperation, open access to wealth, democratic freedom. Remember this, the next time somebody airily holds forth on the so-called Socialist state.

J. MCG.

Abundance and poverty

THE point is often made, and in the material sense has some truth, that workers in some of the Western countries have never had it so good, and in relationship to the "Hungry Thirties" in Britain, it looks good. Unemployment in this country is very low, and the majority of workers in comparison to the Thirties are not so badly off. Capitalism is, of course, in a boom period that in some countries seems to go on for ever. If this is true, and we accept it for the sake of discussion, does this mean that our case has lost its validity? The answer is no. Socialism is a world wide system of society and we cannot reiterate this too much, so let us look at comparisons of wealth.

In America, surplus wheat which is rotting in storehouses, costs the Administration \$370,000 a day rent to store after the Government has bought it at fixed prices. There is also a world surplus of sugar of some 13.7 million tons. On the other hand, 1,700 million people are today living without sufficient food and shelter, according to the Food and Agricultural Organisation of the United Nations. Again, the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief reports that food production in North America is up 20 per cent. and surplus wheat amounts to 1,382,000 bushels a year, and yet in the Far East there is less to eat than before the war. It follows therefore that the problems of the underfed and underclothed is also our problem, wherever workers may be throughout the world.

There are both sympathisers and opponents of our case who say we do not support the struggles of these peoples to improve their conditions; this is not true. We support them in the only way that we can—with Socialist propaganda, showing that the movements to which they often give support are nationalistic in outlook and that they are aiming at changing masters and not the social system. A classic example of this is India, where they threw off the yoke of British Imperialism, but the Indian workers remain wage slaves.

Our task is not one of defending capitalism, in whatever guise. If we were to deviate from our purpose, of the establishment of Socialism, we would completely lose our identity and become another reformist party, one of the many who have made promises that could never be kept, within the framework of capitalism. No, the only solution lies in the understanding by the working class of the working of capitalism and the need for a classless, moneyless society.

Wheat farmers in America may not even be aware of the needs of society: their first concern must be the profit made by sale of their corn. Wheat can rot in the storehouse of the North American continent and Indian workers can starve rather than sell the food at a loss. That is the stupidity of a profit making system. Socialism can and will provide the material and cultural needs of society as soon as the

working class abolish for all time throughout the world a system that can produce super-abundance and poverty hand in hand.

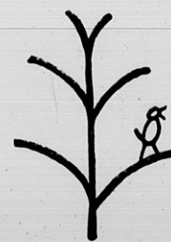
Workers in the western hemisphere may think they are having it good. Many families who run a car can now join the harrassing and killing queues that line our roads every weekend or in the evenings they can watch the "goggle-box" that churns out in the main a load of rubbish. And in the background the frightening spectacle of rockets with nuclear warheads that can traverse the world. Real wealth in human labour power that is dissipated on Blue Streaks, rockets or nuclear powered submarines could be put to the job of solving the real needs of the backward peoples, food, clothing and shelter

and the right to live sane and intelligent lives.

The truth of the matter is we never had it so bad, and until workers realise that the problem of the eastern workers is fundamentally the same as that of his western counterpart, the capitalist world will blunder from crisis to crisis. To African workers we make a special plea. You are throwing off the yoke of imperialism and taking on the characteristics of national capitalism. Don't ask or expect us to support the various movements for Colonial freedom. We will not jump onto any nationalist bandwagon in order to gain your support. Your problems in the last analysis are the same as ours. We want you to have a better life, and this you can only attain in a Socialist society.

J. P. E.

From the Branches



existence of a Mitcham and District Group that they may join.

The dates fixed for the Delegate meeting this year are Saturday afternoon, October 1st, and Sunday, October 2nd. Head Office is the venue and Comrades are asked to make a note of the dates as this is the only time it can be noted in the STANDARD.

Bloomsbury Branch will recommence branch meetings on Thursday, September 1st. This is mentioned as there were no branch meetings during August.

A series of Theoretical lectures are being arranged and details will be advertised as soon as all the titles and speakers are finally settled.

The Sunday evening film lectures will re-commence in October. Full details will be given in the October issue of the SOCIALIST STANDARD.

Islington Branch will be going down to Southsea on Sunday, September 18th, to hold an outdoor meeting at Marine Parade. The meeting starts at 3 p.m. Details of train times, and so on, can be obtained from the Branch secretary.

P. H.

We invite our readers to send letters of comment and criticism. Please keep your letters as short as possible.



LABOUR PARTY DISCONTENTS 1910

(1)

Mr. Cecil Chesterton on J. R. MacDonald

As for the Labour men, they have been utterly routed in the South and Midlands, while in the North those that have kept their seats have only done so by exchanging their boasted independence for an abject dependence on Liberal votes. Where they have attempted a three-cornered fight, they have been not so much snowed under as entirely disregarded by the electorate. Mr. Macdonald is the most splendid organiser of defeat the world has ever seen.

(2)

Mr. MacDonald on his Party

If this irritating unsettlement, even if it is confined to a small section, is to go on year after year, the result is obvious. Men are not to waste their lives, when other spheres of useful activity are open to them, in controversy which is silly and in repelling criticisms which are often beneath contempt.

From the SOCIALIST STANDARD, September, 1910.

North West Kent Discussion Groups

Will any readers in the Bexleyheath, Crayford, Dartford, Erith, Gravesend and Welling areas of North West Kent interested in the formation of a discussion group, communicate with H. J. Wilson, 7 Cyril Road, Bexleyheath, Kent (phone Bexleyheath 1950).

Also any readers in the Sidcup, Mottingham, Orpington, Eltham, Chislehurst areas communicate with W. G. Catt, 32, Ickleton Road, S.E.9 (Kipling 1796).

CORRECTION

Three unfortunate spelling errors crept into the article "The Cash Nexus" on page 126 of the August *Standard*. In the first paragraph (8th line) "a not considerable part" should read "a not inconsiderable part". In the third paragraph (11th line) "virtuous" should have read "virtues"; and in the fourth paragraph (26th line) "on their own hands" should have of course read "on their own heads."

Socialist Party OF GREAT BRITAIN

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The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

- 1] That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.
- 2] That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.
- 3] That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.
- 4] That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.
- 5] That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.
- 6] That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.
- 7] That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.
- 8] The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desire enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

The Passing Show

LABOUR REBELS

A LETTER in the Guardian (24/6/60) read in part as follows:

What I should like to know, however, is whether those members of Parliament who are now calling for the resignation of Mr. Gaitskell have ever themselves thought of resigning. If they are dissatisfied with the policies and leadership of the Labour Party, let them join say "The Socialist Party of Great Britain," and see how they get on there.

The letter is signed by Silvan Jones, the chairman of the Conway constituency Labour party.

We are grateful to Mr. Jones for his interest in the Socialist Party, but it seems that he is under a misapprehension. While we are always glad to receive applications for membership, in order to keep the party as a Socialist party, we only allow Socialists to join. In this we are unlike Mr. Jones' party, which the most convinced upholder of the capitalist system could join merely by signing an application form. The results may be seen in the political history of the twentieth century: the Labour Party's erratic pursuit of one reform after another, contrasted with the Socialist Party's consistent advocacy of Socialism.

HARRY POLLITT

WHAT a tragedy was the life of Harry Pollitt! Here was a man who, horrified by the conditions of the working class as he had known them in his youth, set out in a genuine attempt to improve those conditions. He conceived a personal dislike of "the bosses," and was determined to "make them pay" for what the workers had had to suffer. Yet Harry Pollitt never gained a thorough understanding of the forces that mould modern society, in Russia as well as in Britain. As a result, his deeply-felt hostility to the ruling class in Britain simply resulted in his becoming, indirectly, an overseas ally of the Russian ruling class. It is not enough merely to oppose capitalism, as one has known it: one must be for its alternative, Socialism. Had Harry Pollitt succeeded in his efforts, he would merely have been instrumental in establishing state capitalism in Britain, in place of the variety we have at present. And that would have left the workers exactly

where they are now.

Curiously enough, many of the obituary notices which appeared in the papers after Harry Pollitt's death expressed some regard for him—curiously, because the British newspapers are the propaganda organs of the British ruling class. The obituaries recalled with approval that Pollitt, after supporting the 1939 war against Germany at its outbreak, showed more reluctance than the other members of the Communist Party to come out against the war when Stalin and Hitler concluded their pact.

The Times obituary (30/6/60) was an example. It was written by a clergyman, a former member of Scotland Yard's Special Branch who once had the job of shadowing Pollitt. This writer could claim to understand the interests of the British ruling class: and he recounts that when, after the Russo-German Pact, he asked Pollitt, "Are you people going to let Hitler smash Britain?" Pollitt replied "No, we shall not do that." The fact that Pollitt was able to talk about the war (which was a struggle between the German capitalist class and the British capitalist class) in these terms shows how little he understood the world in which he lived.

A. W. E.

COMPANION PARTIES

Socialist Party of Australia

P.O. Box 1440 Melbourne
29 Doris Street, North Sydney, P.O. Box 2291
Sydney

Socialist Party of Canada

P.O. Box 115 Winnipeg, Manitoba

Socialist Party of Ireland

Gen. Sec: 24 Newington Avenue, Belfast

Socialist Party of New Zealand

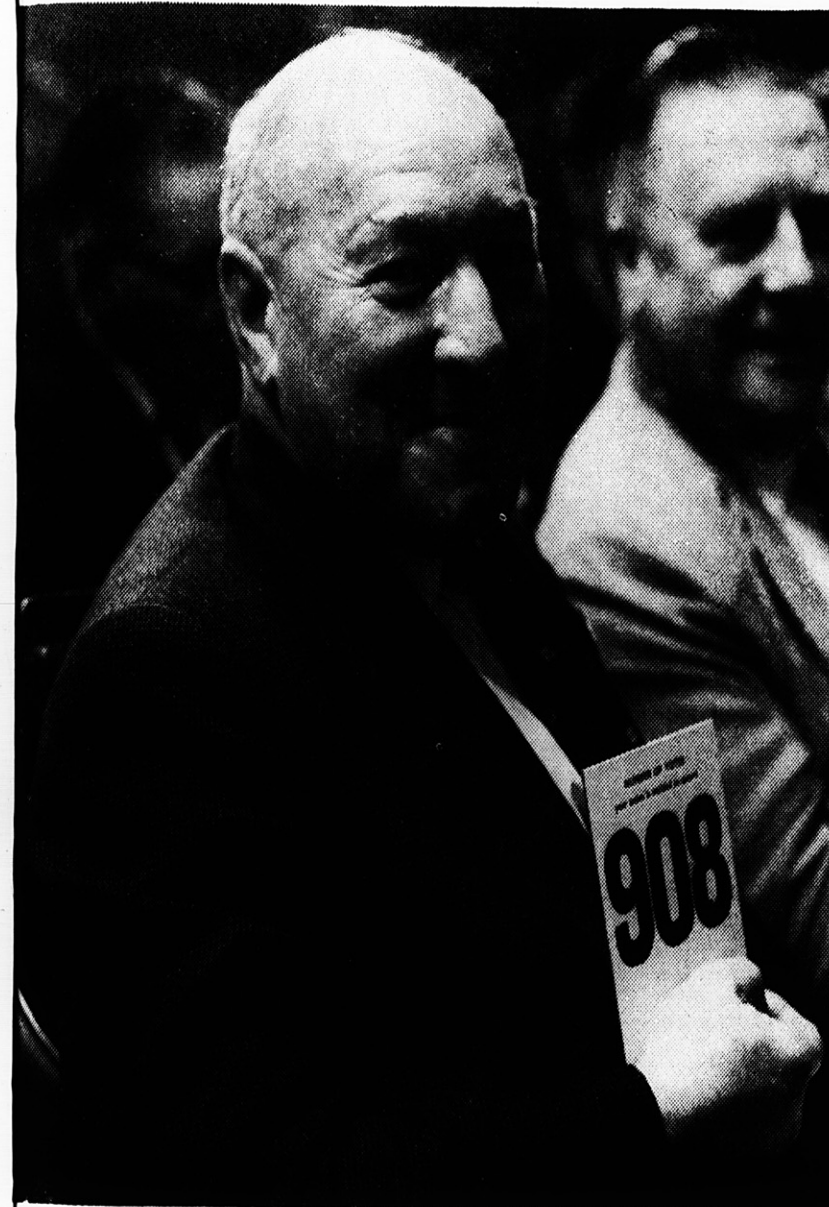
P.O. Box 62 Petone

World Socialist Party of the United States

11 Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston 9, Mass.

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OCTOBER 1960

**SOCIALIST
STANDARD**

Mr. Carron, Secretary of the AEU, casting 908,000 votes at the Trade Union Congress, Isle of Man, September 1960. "Nobody at the TUC got up to speak for the world working class; to declare in their name against all the governments of the capitalist national groups; British, American, Russian, African, India, China, etc; against all exploitation, competitive profit-seeking, armament building and war making".

**WHAT AILS
THE UNIONS?**

**FRIENDLESS TUC
PASSING SHOW
THE SCRAP HEAP
LEADERS OF THE BLIND
SOCIALIST CASE**

JOURNAL OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

Branches

Visitors are cordially invited to every meeting.

BASILDON Thursdays 7.30 pm, Craylands County Secondary School, Basildon. Correspondence: R. H. Bowie, Cranford, Basil Drive, Laindon, Essex.

BIRMINGHAM Thursdays 8 pm. "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. (Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month.) Correspondence: H. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road, Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.

BLOOMSBURY 1st and 3rd Thursdays (6th & 20th October) in month 7.30 pm, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, WC1.

BRADFORD & DISTRICT Correspondence: Peter Hall, 10 Spring Grove Terrace, Leeds 6. Tel: Bradford 71904 any time.

CAMBERWELL Mondays 8 pm, 52 Clapham High Street, SW4. Correspondence: H. Baldwin, 334 South Lambeth Road, Stockwell, SW8.

DARTFORD 1st and 3rd Fridays in month 8 pm, 7th October at 7 Cyril Road, Bexleyheath (Tel: BEX 1950) and 21st October at 32 Ickleton Road, Mottingham, SE9 (Tel: KIP 1796). Correspondence: W. G. Catt at above latter address.

EALING Fridays 8 pm, Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, near Ealing Broadway. Correspondence: M. Evers, 64 Pennard Road, W12.

ECCLES 2nd Monday (10th October) in month 7.30 pm, 5 Gaskell Road, Eccles. Correspondence: F. Lea at above address.

FULHAM & CHELSEA 1st and 3rd Thursdays in month (6th Oct: discussion, 20th Oct: business) 8 pm, "Kings Head," 4 Fulham High Street, Putney Bridge, SW6. Correspondence: L. Cox, 22 Victoria House, Ebury Bridge Road, SW1 Tel: SLO 5258.

GLASGOW (City) Alternate Wednesdays (12th & 26th October) 8 pm, Religious Institute Rooms, 200 Buchanan Street, Cl. Correspondence: T. A. Mulheron, 366 Aikenhead Road, Glasgow, S2.

GLASGOW (Kelvingrove) Alternate Mondays (10th & 24th October) 8 pm, Partick Burgh Halls, Partick. Correspondence: R. Donnelly, 50 Doncaster Street, Glasgow, NW.

HACKNEY Wednesdays 7.30 pm, Bethnal Green Town Hall (Room 3, Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: S. Beck, 28 Petherton Road, N5.

ISLINGTON Thursdays 8 pm, Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N7. (Lecture or discussion after business.) Correspondence: C. Skelton, SPGB, c/o above address.

KINGSTON upon THAMES Correspondence: SPGB, 80 Farm Road, Esher, Surrey

LEWISHAM Mondays 8 pm, Co-op Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, SE6. Correspondence: P. Hart, 22 Gt. Elms Road, Bromley, Kent. Tel: RAV 7811.

NOTTINGHAM Wednesdays 7.30 pm, Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street. Correspondence: R. Powe, 8 Swains Avenue, Carlton Road.

PADDINGTON Wednesdays 8.30 pm, "The Olive Branch," Crawford Street, W1 (corner Homer St. near Marylebone Rd.). Correspondence: SPGB, 76 Ladbroke Grove, W11.

SOUTHEND 1st and 3rd Tuesdays in month 7.30 pm, 4th October at 19 Kingswood Chase, Leigh-on-Sea and 18th October at 17 Cotswold Road, Westcliff-on-Sea. Correspondence: Dick Jacobs at above latter address.

SWANSEA 2nd and 4th Fridays (14th & 28th October) in month 8 pm, The Crypt, St. Pauls. Correspondence: F. J. Scrine, 10 Beach Street, Swansea.

WEMBLEY Mondays 8 pm, Barham Old Court, Barham Park, near Sudbury Town Station, Wembley. Correspondence: R. G. Cain, 48 Balfour Road, W13.

WEST HAM 2nd and 4th Thursdays (13th & 27th October) in month 8 pm, Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E12. (Discussions from 9 pm.) Correspondence: D. Deutz, 80 Bawdsey Avenue, Ilford, Essex.

WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY Fridays 7.30 pm, 146 Inderwick Road, Hornsey, N8 (41 bus to Tottenham Lane, nr. "Hope & Anchor"). Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

WOOLWICH 2nd and 4th Fridays (14th and 28th October) in month 7.30 pm, Town Social Club, Mason's Hill, SE18. (Discussions at 8 pm.) Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens, Eltham, SE9.

Groups

BRISTOL Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Blackfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2. Tel: 24680.

CHEL TENHAM Enquiries: Ken Smith, 338 Swindon Road.

DORKING & DISTRICT Enquiries: O. C. Iles, "Ashleigh," Townfield Road, Dorking.

MANCHESTER Enquiries: J. M. Breakey, 2 Dennison Avenue, Manchester 20. Tel: DID 5709.

MITCHAM & DISTRICT Tuesday 18th October 8 pm, "White Hart," Mitcham Cricket Green. Enquiries: T. Lord, 288 Church Road, Mitcham.

NEWPORT & DISTRICT Meeting at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport. (Details advertised in South Wales Argus.) Enquiries: M. Harris, 26 Oakfield Road, Lightwood, Cwmbran nr. Newport, Mon.

OLDHAM Wednesdays 7.30 pm, 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees at above address. Tel: MAI 5165.

REDHILL Enquiries: A. A. Kemp, 19 Ashcombe Road, Mersham, Redhill, Surrey.

SUSSEX Enquiries: W. Craske, "Hazelcroft," Green Road, Wivelsfield Green, Sussex.

DELEGATE MEETING

Saturday and Sunday 1st & 2nd October

52 CLAPHAM HIGH ST

Lecture 7.15
2nd October

52 CLAPHAM HIGH ST

see page 160

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SOCIALIST STANDARD

JOURNAL OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN
OCTOBER 1960 NO 674 VOL 56

WHAT AILS THE TRADE UNIONS?

THE leader-writers had a field day when the TUC-tied itself in knots by deciding both to have and not to have the H bomb. "Shabby farce," "Congress in agony," "greater fiasco than had been expected," "muddling and miscalculating to the end." It all happened because, though the other delegations regarded the two resolutions as being completely incompatible with each other, the AEU voted for both. That meant 900,000 votes each way. It was just enough to carry the official resolution, though the opposing motion (Mr. Cousins, for Britain to give up nuclear weapons) would have been carried without it.

Now the leaders are busy trying to work out a compromise which, they hope, will be adopted at the Labour Party conference and will have enough meaning in it not to look like an obvious contradiction. Of course it is regrettable that a trade union conference should be so confused, or so much at the mercy of block votes, but the real tragedy is that workers should be divided on such an issue as whether to support both "conventional" and nuclear weapons, or only the former. Both sides accept that there is danger of massive war, both hold that there must be armaments because defence can be secured by them, both argue for efforts to secure an all-round reduction of armaments, nuclear and conventional, but while one side thinks that perhaps a British government example of renouncing nuclear weapons might be followed, the other side (like the late Aneurin Bevan) thinks that the better prospect of securing the same end is by negotiating along with the other powers that have nuclear weapons. Neither side claims to have more than a slight hope that it will really work out that way.

Nobody at the TUC got up to speak for the world working class; to declare in their name against all the governments of the capitalist national groups; British, Russian, American, African, Indian, etc.; against all exploitation, competitive profit-seeking, armament build-

ing and war making. And to those who tell us that making such declarations is useless because the workers will not respond—and how long and how often we have been told this—let us point out with all emphasis that both these TUC factions are themselves basing their whole case for getting capitalism to disarm, on making appeals; but not making them to the workers whose interest, if not yet their wish, is to get rid of capitalism, but to the governments which are to defend capitalism!

Of course there isn't an easy cure for what ails the TUC and trade unions; the lack of interest of many members which causes them to stay away from branch meetings and leave the running of the union to an active minority. If members can't be bothered to form definite views on union policy and go along to branches to voice them, they have not much ground of complaint if other people secure the adoption of other policies. The really deep-lying troubles of the unions and the TUC stem from the wrong outlook of the workers themselves. Right through the Unions there is a belief, based on nothing but self-deception, that there is no need to listen to the Socialist case, no need to act urgently to get rid of capitalism and war, because it is always possible, while leaving capitalism in being to remove its evils and escape its war horrors.

And the curious thing is that this belief is more widely held and complacently accepted by the rank and file than by some of the leaders. It is the latter who have growing doubts about British capitalism being able to go on holding all the foreign markets it needs, and more doubts still about the possibility of Britain being able to escape war in a world of armament competition.

And the truth, though most workers still refuse to accept it, is that "you can't contract out of world capitalism."

For all the workers everywhere it is a question of either enduring the evils and miseries of capitalism and its wars or of ending that social system.

THE PASSING SHOW

Bare-faced Cheek

No one could accuse the world's ruling classes of consistency. The ruling class of each country is devoted to one thing, and to one thing only—the preservation of its power. Our rulers love to proclaim their attachment to high-sounding and immutable principles—but if their interests demand it, they will change their tune overnight. Recently there have been enough somersaults performed by prominent politicians to make an acrobat green with envy.

Here are some instances which occurred recently within a space of two days.

Principles v. Royalties

The ruling class of Morocco gained its independence from France some years ago. In its struggle it reiterated the right of every people to independence, the iniquity of one country holding another in subjection, and so on. More recently another former French colony in north-west Africa, Mauritania, became self-governing within the French Community. It has now decided to declare itself

independent in November. One would think that the Moroccan ruling class would welcome this new step by the ruling class of Mauritania—the Mauritians are only doing what the Moroccans have already done, and are acting on the very principles upheld by Morocco during its struggle with France. But not a bit of it! The Moroccan Government is breathing fire at the news. It has banned a Moroccan newspaper which supported Mauritanian independence, and has threatened to go to the United Nations. For the Moroccan rulers claim that Mauritania is really part of Greater Morocco. The Moroccan Government, which denounced France for wanting to hold on to its empire, is now planning an empire of its own. This despite the fact that Morocco and Mauritania have not even got a common frontier: Morocco would have to take over part of Algeria to give it access to its new province.

Why are the Moroccan rulers so eager to get their hands on Mauritania, even though they have to eat so many of

their own words in the process? It's simple. Large and very rich iron ore deposits have been found in Mauritania, and the mining of them is about to begin by the Miferma company. The royalties payable on the ore are a prize worth trying for. And what does the Moroccan ruling class care about principles, when they see a chance of rich profits from the Mauritanian iron ore?

Terrorism

Another recently independent Mediterranean state has also given an example of inconsistency. Cyprus is now self-governing: the Cypriot ruling class has taken over, having ousted the British. The Cypriot leader in this struggle was Makarios, now President of the Cyprus Republic. The struggle was carried on by terrorism, which is the name now given by a ruling class to any kind of armed internal opposition to its rule. This terrorism, which forced the British to relinquish the island, was led personally by Grivas. Makarios's close ally in the struggle. But Makarios, having won his battle through terrorism, has now turned against it. He recently appealed for all guns and ammunition to be handed in to the authorities, and said: "I am not prepared to tolerate any kind of terrorism." Terrorism having made him President of Cyprus, Makarios no doubt now sees that he had better deny any opponents of his the use of the same weapon.

Free competition

The American Government is worried about the high tariff wall with which the six European "Common Market" countries propose to surround themselves. The U.S. delegate to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade conference said recently (*The Guardian*, 2/9/60):

Whatever serves unduly to insulate the community market from the competition of world prices is out of harmony with our common GATT objective for the expansion of international trade. . . . The system will work to the serious detriment of the US and other third country suppliers—in fact, to the community itself.

When it is to their advantage, the United States government supports "the competition of world prices." But at home, it has a different policy. When big new projects are opened to tender, any foreign firm competing is handicapped from the start. Several British firms have recently found that although their tenders were the lowest for American projects, it was an American firm

Telegram sent to the British Association for the Advancement of Science at their September 1960 Conference in Cardiff.

TODAY YOU WILL DISCUSS WORLD POPULATION PROBLEMS. MAY WE EXPRESS TO YOU OUR CONVICTION THAT THE PROBLEMS OF MASS STARVATION AND MALNUTRITION AMIDST POTENTIAL PLENTY CANNOT BE SOLVED UNLESS PRODUCTION IS CARRIED ON SOLELY IN ORDER TO SATISFY HUMAN NEEDS, UNFETTERED BY ANY CONSIDERATIONS OF FINANCIAL OR NATIONAL GAIN.

IN OUR VIEW IT IS UTOPIAN AND IRRATIONAL TO ATTEMPT TO SOLVE THESE PROBLEMS EXCEPT ON A WORLD-WIDE BASIS OF COMMON OWNERSHIP OF THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION. MEN MUST ORGANISE TO ABOLISH ALL CLASS AND STATE OWNERSHIP OF THE MEANS OF LIVING—MONEY, THEREBY, BEING RENDERED REDUNDANT. AT LAST MAN COULD GRAPPLE WITH HIS PROBLEMS IN A TRULY HUMAN AND SCIENTIFIC SPIRIT. THE VISIONS OF BACON AND MARX WOULD BECOME THE REALITY.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

that got the contract. Which all goes to show that any capitalist country's government must look after its own capitalists first. And in the process, as in this case, it must often speak with two voices—one for home and one for foreign consumption.

Mandates

Mr. Louw, the South African Foreign Minister, is concerned about the threat by stevedores and dockers in Tanganyika to boycott all South African goods. He protested to the British High Commissioner in South Africa that Britain, as the mandatory power, had obligations to ensure "freedom of transit and navigation and complete economic and commercial and industrial equality."

For the South African government to quote the League of Nations mandate in support of its protest must have called for nerve of the highest order. For South Africa itself was given a mandate by the League of Nations—the mandate

over what had been German South-West Africa. After the second world war it incorporated South-West Africa into its own territory. To all protests it replied that the League of Nations had ceased to exist, and that its mandates had ceased to exist with it. Therefore it no longer had any obligations to help the inhabitants of South-West Africa to self-government, and indeed was entitled to grab the whole country for itself. The question of South-West Africa has been raised over and over again in the United Nations, and on each occasion the South African government has denied absolutely that a League of Nations' mandate could any longer have any validity. And now the South African government itself has appealed to a League of Nations' mandate in support of its protest over Tanganyika!

It seems that to be a minister or a government spokesman in the modern world, the prime necessity is bare-faced cheek.

A. W. E.

The Friendless TUC

This year's Trade Union Congress in the Isle of Man was very fully reported in the Press, more fully than in some past years, but comment was almost everywhere disapproving and disappointed. Taking the comments at their face value the reader may imagine that the newspaper proprietors and editors and the politicians are the friends of the rank and file trade unionists and are genuinely sorry that the leaders, individually, and the TUC collectively, are not making a good job of looking after the members' claims for higher wages and better conditions. It is only necessary to state it in these terms to see that there must be something wrong with this explanation, for we know well that most of the commentators habitually oppose strikes for higher wages and shorter hours, whether official or unofficial, and would be much alarmed if the TUC were to forget politics and devote its influence and organisation to promoting an all-round higher wage movement. They may say, or imply, that they sympathise with the delegate who tried, in vain, to get Congress to agree to devote more time to bread and butter issues, but workers know from experience that a change in that direction would meet with even more disapproval. The reason for their disappointment must be sought elsewhere, and an observation by the *Times*

Labour Correspondent (12/9/60) indicates what it is. He wrote:

In the old days, union leaders could usually be relied upon to accept the decisions of the general council and could almost always carry their unions with them. Now there is little sense of collective responsibility and leaders are frequently overruled by their own unions. In the debates on nuclear disarmament this year the executives of three of the big six unions, those of the engineers, the railwaymen, and the distributive workers, were outvoted by their annual conferences.

This is the change that the government, the employers and the leaders of the big political parties find disturbing. In a time of full employment capitalism needs something to dissuade the workers from pressing to the full their relatively stronger position. A disciplined trade union movement controlled from the top and guided into paths of moderation and industrial peace is the ideal instrument from the standpoint of the owning class and the government; even better (because less crude and obvious) than the Russian type of State organisation masquerading as a trade union movement.

The argument that the TUC ought to concentrate on trying to get higher wages and shorter hours is a very sound one, but there is nothing to support it in the

TUC's history and constitution. It was political at its foundation and has for the most part kept to that view of its purpose. The Webbs, in their *History of Trade Unionism*, show that the TUC came into being largely to handle the problem of the law affecting trade unions and when it obtained in 1875 a law to its liking, for which it gratefully thanked the government, "it became for ten years little more than an annual gathering of Trade Union officials, in which they delivered, with placid unanimity, their views on labour legislation and labour politics." (Chapter VII.)

The Webbs show how Congress deliberately excluded from its discussions not only questions of trade union rivalries, but also all the controversial aspects of trade union activity. "Arising as it did between 1868 and 1871, when the one absorbing topic was the relation of Trade Unionism to the law, it had retained the character then impressed upon it of an exclusively political body." It was the TUC that voted for independent parliamentary representation and promoted the formation of the Labour Party.

It began as a political body and so it has remained, in spite of periods during which, as in the 1926 general strike, it was reluctantly pushed into taking a leading part in industrial disputes.

A glance at the TUC's "Objects" will show how political it is. Alongside general phrases about promoting the interests of the workers and the unions, it has a list of particular measures, including "public ownership and control of national resources and of services," nationalisation of land, mines and minerals and "nationalisation of railways." (Apparently nobody has noticed that the railways were nationalised long ago!). It also demands a legal maximum working week of 40 hours, a legal minimum wage for each industry, and "adequate State pensions for all at the age of 60."

The interesting thing about the demands for legislation on wages and hours is that not only have they not been achieved, but it would appear that the TUC has long given up any serious attempt to press them or get a Labour government to do so. The object on hours used to be in the form of a demand for legislation for a maximum 44 hour week, but this was obtained years ago in most industries by the unions themselves, without legislation and without the aid of the TUC. And the TUC, like the Labour Party, has tacitly recognised 65 as the pension age and stopped asking for it to be lowered.

Much of the General Council's activity is concerned with direct contacts with government departments and governmental agencies and Sir Vincent Tewson makes a modest claim for it:

We therefore can and do talk to any government because we believe in and get the right of consultation. I think our views are respected and that they have some effect on the making of Government policy.

(Daily Telegraph, 13/9/60.)

Clearly the TUC has as yet no intention of giving up politics and the delegates do not want it to do so.

All the critics agree that the trade union leadership has lost much of its influence with the rank and file in recent years, but few mention one obvious factor in this, which is that members have become suspicious that the leadership is too much in touch with the government, the employers and the professional economists, and too ready to accept their policies. In particular, trade unionists claiming higher wages and shorter hours, are tired of being told about the "national interest," the export trade, the gold reserve, and so on, and the leaders' influence waned when they lined up with the Labour government's policy of "wage restraint." Sir Vincent Tewson, who defends that policy, has to admit that it "chafed," and says: "The wonder is not that the formal restraint ended when it did but that it had been possible to maintain it for so long."

In 1950 the General Council's recommendation to continue "wage restraint" was defeated, but the outlook out of which it arose is still there. The TUC supports consultation with the government, cooperation with employers to increase production and the subordination of trade union policy to what are called "national" needs. And Labour Party spokesmen have admitted that another Labour Government would again try to get the unions to agree to "wage restraint."

This is a continuing dilemma of the trade union leadership and particularly of the TUC. Apart from a few oddities who gape open mouthed at the supposed superiority of Russian State capitalism over other capitalism, the leaders accept British capitalism and start from the proposition that on Britain's ability to produce efficiently and sell profitably depends the jobs and wages of British workers. As Tewson put it in the interview already referred to, "We found we could not stand aloof. The unions cannot do their job effectively unless there is a stable economy"; but while the great majority of the members may in theory

share the leaders' acceptance of capitalism and Britain's position in it, they do not at all see what this has to do with their own particular grievances and claims. The more the leaders harp on restraint and responsibility the more the number of members who view them with

suspicion.

Strange as it may seem to those who think this is an "affluent society," masses of workers are overworked, hard up and harassed and are resentful of it as ever they were.

H.

On the Scrap Heap

It is stale news now that a year ago this month, the Tories managed to win the general election. This was their third consecutive victory and, with an increased majority, was almost unprecedented in British politics. It would also be stale news to list the promises which they and the other parties made in their bid for power, but one thing seems certain. The electorate swallowed Mr. MacMillan's impertinent assertion and agreed with him that they were indeed having it better than ever before. The Prime Minister's words have not yet begun to stick in the throats of his supporters; except maybe for some millions of old folk. Many of these no doubt gave their vote to the Tories and are still living on their pensions and Mr. MacMillan's promises of better things tomorrow or the day after.

"A share in the rising prosperity of our country. . . ." What a delightfully vague and empty phrase that is. Most old folk will remain pretty much the same as they were before those words were uttered—alone, unwanted, and very poor. B. E. Shenfield, quoting official sources in his book *Social Policies for Old Age*, points out that about a quarter of the pensioners in Britain today are so impoverished that they are eligible for National Assistance. So much for the "share." A microscope would be needed to find it.

Frailties of old age are sooner or later the lot of all of us who manage to live long enough, and no one will deny that the task of caring for the aged calls for a skill and devotion second to none. *Geriatrics*, a branch of medicine dealing with care of old persons, has not been established more than about sixty years and the hard and unstinting efforts of the pioneers such as Dr. Nascher in Vienna and Dr. Warren in this country, are only in recent times becoming generally known. Some idea of the enormity of the work facing medical staffs is given by Dr. Kenneth Hazell when he says that 85 per cent. of the 56,000 chronic hospital cases are persons 65 years of age or

over. (See *Social and Medical Problems of the Elderly*).

But when this has been said, there remains the inescapable fact that the deterioration associated with growing old is accentuated and the work of doctors severely hampered by poverty. Here, for example, are some of Dr. Hazell's own impressions gained after visiting countless old people in their homes. His words do not make pretty reading, and to many of us they will have a familiar ring. Somewhere we have heard them all before—and we shall hear them again in the future.

All too often, he says, the houses visited were in the back alleys of city slum areas, built many years ago and "entirely lacking in architectural beauty." They were usually of the "two down and two up" type with outside lavatory, no bathroom, and merely a cold water tap in the scullery. It is the pitiful lot of many poor souls to be confined literally for years in these damp and cheerless hovels where even a short illness can prove fatal, not just because you are old, but equally because successful treatment is hindered by such dreadful conditions. Typical is the case of one man of 81, living alone in a cold damp bungalow, whose slight chill developed into severe bronchitis within two days, and who was saved only by timely removal to hospital.

Trying to make do on next to nothing, it is little wonder that many suffer from severe malnutrition. W. Hobson and J. Pemberton have published the results of a study conducted in Sheffield and have stated that some old patients weigh as little as 4½ stone on admission to hospital. It is in the big cities, they tell us, where cases such as these are most common, and along with Dr. Hazell, they remind us that starvation and deficiency diseases are certainly not things of the past, although overwhelmingly it is the poor who suffer from them.

One of the many bitter ironies of Capitalism is that our isolation grows as we get older. One would have thought it well nigh impossible to be

alone and unwanted among a rapidly expanding population, but the horrible truth has to be faced that in Britain today about a million single old persons are living alone. Because of this, they often remain without care or attention of any kind, even after sustaining an injury or becoming otherwise ill. One of the worst cases in recent times was that of a man who lay dead in a house for several weeks before anyone thought fit to investigate. When the police eventually broke in, they discovered that his wife had been with him all the time, but in the words of the coroner, she was too old, ill and mentally deranged to realise what had happened.

Such sad tales are not isolated cases. The whole story of working class old age is indeed a dismal one, but the blame for it cannot be laid at the door of any one government or party. The best that any of them can do is no more than to skim the surface. They cannot make any essential alteration to the position of this growing minority of near-destitutes. Various parties have tried to deal with the matter over the past fifty years or so, starting with the Liberal Government's pension scheme in 1908. The next few years saw various changes and extensions, and in 1946 the Labour Government's National Insurance Act, which increased pensions to 26s., was supported by Tories and Liberals alike. Since then, further increases have taken place, yet in 1960 the problem presses as heavily as ever.

Trevor H. Howell, M.R.C.P., has written an illuminating book on old age, called *Our Advancing Years*. At the end of his second chapter, he says: "We have now come to a time when old age alone is no longer a cause of acute poverty." But old age never has been a cause of poverty, acute or otherwise, and pensioners are not poor because they are old but because they are old workers. This is at the heart of their plight. Aged capitalists have no need of pensions, national assistance or any of the hundred and one charities which feature in our

private property society.

For they are the owners of the private property and it is the lack of ownership by the majority which makes and keeps us poor. Old age merely accentuates this—what one could call the ultimate in a state of poverty which has been with us throughout our working lives, characterised by the struggle to make both ends meet and with the mockery of pensions to remind us that we have lost the battle after all.

An alleviation of our poverty we may get from a pension, the abolition of our poverty, never. Poverty is with us all the time and in this so-called affluent society it is still true that about 10 per cent. of the population own about 90 per cent. of the accumulated wealth. The rest of us have a pretty limited access to the means of life through our wage packets, and with the approach of old age, even these cease. Capitalist society is not really very interested in the old ones, and for an obvious reason. It is simply no longer profitable to employ them.

In face of such an uncomfortable truth the reformers can do precious little, for they work within the framework of the very setup which has created the tragedy of old age. In fact, it has been alleged that the advent of the welfare state has seen a sharpening of the problem. In recent times one charitable organisation has even been obliged to leave ill old men on street doorsteps in an attempt to get them into hospital.

There is surely an urgent need for working people to reach an understanding of their position in the capitalist scheme of things and to appreciate the need for the removal of a system which insults us with pensions and countless other futilities, and which is quite incapable of really satisfying human needs. It is capitalism which turns what could be a period of reasonable contentment into a time of loneliness and despair. The Socialist answer is worthy of serious consideration—by young and old alike.

E. T. C.

Voices from the Past.

GERRARD WINSTANLEY
1608 ?—1660 ?

WAR

"Wherefore is it that there is such wars and rumours of wars in the nations of the earth? And wherefore are men so mad to destroy one another? but only to uphold civil property of honour, dominion and riches one over another. . . . But when once the earth becomes a common treasury again, as it must . . . then this enmity of all lands will cease, and none shall dare to seek dominion over others, neither shall any dare to kill another, nor desire more of the earth than other."

The True Levellers' Standard Advanced (1649).

LABOUR

"No man can be rich but he must be rich either by his own labours or by the labours of other men helping him. If a man has no help from his neighbour he shall never gather an estate of hundreds and thousands a year. If other men help him to work, then are those riches his neighbour's as well as his; for they be the fruit of other men's labours as well as his own. . . . Rich men receive all they have from the labourer's hand, and what they give, they give away other men's labours, not their own."

The Law of Freedom in a Platform (1652).

LAW

"Shall we have no lawyers?"

There is no need of them, for there is to be no buying and selling; neither any need to expound laws; for the bare letter of the law shall be both judge and lawyer, trying every man's actions. And seeing we shall have successive Parliaments every year, there will be rules made for every action a man can do."

The Law of Freedom in a Platform (1652).

RELIGION

"[Priests] lay claim to heaven after they are dead, and yet they require their heaven in this world, too, and grumble mightily against the people that will not give them a large temporal maintenance. And yet they tell the poor people that they must be content with their poverty, and they shall have their heaven hereafter. But why may not we have our heaven here (that is, a comfortable livelihood in the earth) and heaven hereafter too, as well as you?"

An Appeal to all Englishmen (1650).

These extracts from the writings of Gerrard Winstanley are taken from *THE GOOD OLD CAUSE* (Lawrence & Wishart), edited by Christopher Hill and Edmund Dell.

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY

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Letters

To the Editor



POWER

I am nineteen years old and I am interested in Socialism as a political train of thought. Two years ago while on holiday in Nottingham I attended an open air meeting organised by your Party. When questions were asked by members of the public each was answered satisfactorily except one. I would therefore be most grateful if you could answer this question for me.

In the planning of a socialist society some individual or individuals are necessary to plan this society, i.e., these people will be in superior position to the common workers, whose job it would be to fulfil the plan laid down for them. How would the society protect the common worker from being oppressed by this intelligensia, who would certainly use their high position for their own selfish ends, turning a new formed socialist society back to the class ridden capitalist society? The crux of my question being how can man's selfish bid for power be retarded while still giving a man with greater brain power the incentive to work wholeheartedly not only for the good of himself but for the good of the whole society.

I hope you are willing to accept that the "I'm alright Jack" attitude is very prevalent throughout the world today, in all types of worker.

I hope you get the meaning of my question which I regard as a most important one. I would also be most grateful if you would send me a copy of your paper, the SOCIALIST STANDARD.

D. G. G.

Fareham, Hants.

REPLY.

Our correspondent postulates the existence of Socialism without taking into account the conditions which are necessary to bring it into being. Socialism will be the work of the great majority of mankind, who will consciously establish it because they think it in their interests to do so. It will not be the responsibility of any minority, whether they are planners or somebody else. Because of this, the work of

Socialism's planners will conform to the Socialist desires of the rest of society and will be designed within the framework of the Socialist community.

Those people who under Socialism are responsible for planning production, transport, and so on, will not be in "a superior position." For in a world where the production and distribution of wealth is a social procedure, every individual depends upon the rest of society for his welfare and existence. This will be the strength behind society's determination to have a privilege-free world. Social pretensions will be powerless against it—and they will have no validity, when everybody has equally free access to the world's wealth.

This, too, will be the incentive to work wholeheartedly in a Socialist society. Capitalism, with its anarchic and acquisitive nature, fosters the narrowly selfish attitude to which our correspondent refers. Free from the necessity to strive for social superiority and from the many other restrictions of capitalism, mankind will be able to give of their best. They will do so in the knowledge—and with the intention—that the wealth of the world belongs to the world's people, without distinction of any kind. When society wants that, nothing can prevent them having it or, when they have it, take it away from them.

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.

STATE CAPITALISM

After coming into contact with the SPGB through the pages of the American *Western Socialist*, I am left with the following doubt. Does the SPGB wish to see a regime of full scale nationalisation (i.e., State Capitalism) instituted, or would industries be controlled by workers' soviets?

As an anarchist, I cannot see that a centralised state bureaucracy can ever give true public control. Industry must be organised and run by elected workers' councils. What is the SPGB's attitude to this?

J. A. D.

Darlington, Co. Durham.

REPLY.

Our correspondent correctly points out that full scale nationalisation is capitalism directly organised by the state machine. Socialists are opposed to capitalism in any form, including state capitalism. The method of controlling industries is determined by the type of ownership to which they are subject. Thus, it is of little importance whether privately owned industry is organised

by private companies, as in many cases in this country, or by a central bureaucracy through so-called workers' soviets, as in some cases in the U.S.S.R. Both types of organisation administer privately owned industries in the interests of their owning—or capitalist—class.

When Socialism is established, the control of industry will still be in line with its ownership. It is impossible, at the present, to give a detailed picture of the organisation which a Socialist community will use for controlling industry. That will depend upon the conditions prevailing at the time. But, because the means of wealth production will be commonly owned, we can say that they will be democratically controlled in the interests of the whole of mankind.

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.

SEAMEN AND SOCIALISM

It is long since I troubled you with any screed of mine, but I feel impelled to break a restraint of several years by making some comment upon your bewildering illogicality, as it seems to me, in certain directions.

Under the heading "Seamen on Strike" you write "One simple method of safeguarding the community's welfare, keeping the ships sailing and making everybody happy, is to grant the seamen's wage demands." Indeed! But is this recipe for everybody's happiness not a little naive, encouraging "demands" on the parlour-game principle "Think of a number (or demand) and then double it." Since when has it been good Socialism to accept the view that any good, let alone universal happiness, can come out of a wages system?

On the very same page you say that "not so long ago" a farthing would buy a pocket-full of sweets. So it would, if not a pocket-full, a fist-full. Sweets—and food—was incredibly cheap before the first great war, and so was labour. You make the point that a worker's wage today in command of real wealth remains much about the same. This, in spite of the precarious outcome of "full employment" in so-called key industries, overtime, and married women's labour. Plainly, "demand" for anything less than Socialism is "not enough." Then why confuse the issue merely to satisfy that class-war feeling? It's phoney! As for the £40 a month and all found, I can only speak of the stewards you mention, but I have just come off a liner (an exploiting passenger, of course) considerably lighter in pocket. Why should you expect me to fall for that fudge? The workers, like everyone else (and who

are they?) want all they can get and I don't blame them—or us—but don't ask me to idealise the "gi-me" game. I gave all to a cause once, with no personal expectations. So did many pioneers of the SPGB. We didn't moan.

Now, isn't it about time the SPGB told the world what it means by Socialism? Yes, I know all about the statement of Principles, I had it in draft in my own hands some 50 years ago. But what does it mean? I ask modern artist friends of mine what their apparently crude abstract designs mean and they fob me off with jargon and more jargon. I ask you for details of how each takes from the common store without money and without price. Must the answer be the same? Just how, is all I want to know, but don't misunderstand me. I, too, believe it possible to really socialise the main things of life gradually and I do not rely on any "dawn" appearing or the "setting up" of specialised and centralised bureaucracies for the purpose. I could develop the theme with plenty of early Socialist literature to my aid. Believe me, I do not propose to present every worker with a Jaguar on "demand"—the problem disturbs me, for why not a helicopter apiece? I can "visualise" some "store." Treat this as a little pleasantry if you like, but what do you really mean? No jargon, mind!

LORD AMWELL.

Belsize Park, N.W.3.

REPLY.

In the first chapter of our pamphlet "Questions of the Day" we have told in some detail what Socialism is. Lord Amwell asks "for details of how each takes from the common store without money and without price." We are puzzled at his difficulty. In a family, for example, each takes what he needs of what is there without either money or price. Likewise, from what is produced today each could take what he needs of what is available for each without having to pay for anything, providing it was all commonly owned.

As the question comes from Lord Amwell there are certain things we can take for granted. For instance, that we are concerned with a society in which everything that is in and on the earth is the common possession of all mankind, and each stands on an equal footing with regard to what is produced and distributed.

Before such a society can come into being the vast mass of the people must understand what Socialism signifies—the kind of society that they are bringing into being. Hence they will know that



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Socialist Party of Australia
P.O. Box 1440 Melbourne
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Socialist Party of Canada
P.O. Box 115 Winnipeg, Manitoba

Socialist Party of Ireland
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Socialist Party of New Zealand
P.O. Box 62 Petone

World Socialist Party of the United States
11 Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston 9, Mass

the greater the quantity and variety they can produce the more in quantity and variety will be available to each.

The same kind of hands and brains that are concerned with production and distribution today will be available in the new society—but with greater freedom and opportunities. Consequently the provision of the necessary productive and storage facilities to meet society's needs in the requisite places will present less difficulties than they do today, where the profit consideration enters into the problem. Thus people will go to the appropriate stores and take what they need of what is there, in accordance with assessments of needs and the means to fulfil them—problems which are within the capacity of human brains that have been able to devise gigantic buildings, faster than sound planes, radar and space rockets. For instance, people go to super stores today, take what they need and pay for what they have taken. Tomorrow they will go similar places, take what they need and walk out.

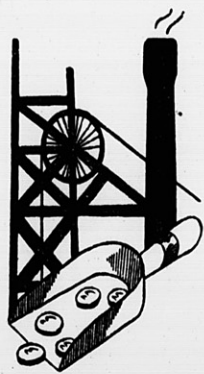
Those who bring the new society into being will be reasonable enough not to expect more than society is capable of producing. Likewise, they will only want what they need, not what will be the envy of their neighbours. A person can only eat one meal at a time, sleep in one bed, sit in one car. The multiplicity of these things would only be a nuisance and a sign that the accumulator needed the attention of a doctor. Helicopters have been mentioned. It is surely obvious that everyone would not want a helicopter, a motor car, a racing stud, a yacht, a TV set, a private radar, a trip to the moon, a private salmon river, or a house papered with gold leaf and diamonds. People yearn for these things today because they signify security and importance in the eyes of their fellows. In the new society such an outlook would be meaningless. The members of it would want comfort, happiness, the pursuit of occupations that gave them pleasure, and the harmonious co-operation of their fellows. A helicopter would not be needed as a possession, but as a means to get from place to place in a hurry. Today a man calls a taxi if he wants to get to a friend or the station in comfort and quickly. Would it not be possible to arrange to call a helicopter tomorrow? Members of the new society would not be unreasonable in their demands, harmonious co-operation would assure this, and unlimited human ingenuity would be used to solve any problems that arise.

In the beginning, before society has settled down in the new form, there may be those who, unable to throw off the

heritage of the past, may want to satiate themselves with possessions. But what of it? They will gain nothing by it except satiation and will soon get tired of useless accumulation, like the child gets tired of a surfeit of toys.

With reference to the remarks about

Finance & Industry



Devaluation of the Pound?

exports will have to be met either by policies which will increase unemployment or by devaluing the pound.

The City Editor of the *Daily Mail* (7/9/60) concedes that Mr. Day may be right in his forecast because he "has an excellent record in this respect," but can derive no happiness from the prospect.

It may well be. But surely we can try a little harder and suffer a little more to preserve the value of our currency before we shrug our shoulders and admit defeat by devaluing the pound again—about the best way of making sure that nobody ever wants to hold pounds any more.

And, of course, the assumption that such a move would solve anything by giving a boost to exports depends on what other countries do; if world trade becomes stagnant they may all be doing the same, including the U.S.A. One forecast we can safely make is about the attitude of the government and employers if a devaluation is decided upon sometime: they will be urging the workers not to press for higher wages. In 1949 when the Labour Government took that step they knew that the effect would be to raise the cost of imports and raise the cost of living and Sir Stafford Cripps, Chancellor of the Exchequer, made his famous or infamous declaration that workers must not ask for more pay to meet higher prices.

Speaking in the House of Commons on September 27, 1949, he said:—

Especially and specifically there can, in our view, be no justification for any section of workers trying to recoup themselves for any increase in the cost of living due to the altered exchange rate. That is a general burden spread over all and must be accepted as a very real and essential contribution towards the avoidance of vast unemployment."

Fortunately the workers did not take much notice of his appeal: if it happens

the seamen's dispute, the sentences quoted have been taken too literally—in a sense that the context shows was not intended. They were just flippant digs at the arguments put forward by the employers and their supporters.

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.

again they should in their own interest take no notice at all.

THE OIL INDUSTRY

EVER since Malthus there have been "experts" telling us that at some time in the future world resources will not be sufficient for the needs of a bigger world population, but none of them have been able to show that world resources have been insufficient in the past or present, or explain why capitalism has all along failed to meet the reasonable needs of the vast mass of the population. It is not nature, or lack of efficiency in production that is responsible, but the structure of the social system, which in industry after industry periodically produces too much for the market and too little for the needs of those who have not the money to buy. At present world markets are glutted with too much coal and too much oil, millions of tons of unsold coal, oil refineries working below capacity and tonnage of idle tankers running into hundreds of thousands.

The City Editor of the *Sunday Times* (21/8/60), Mr. William Rees-Mogg, tells how the oil situation came about. It is the old story of capitalists absorbed in their own problem of producing to make profit irrespective of what is happening elsewhere, of governments determined to promote their own oil industries no matter what the effect on markets, and planners making forward plans in the dark. Mr. Rees-Mogg lists four specific reasons:

The first is that the Suez crisis concealed from the industry the fact that it had reached a stage of over-investment. At what should have been the top of the investment cycle another great wave of investment was added on. The second reason, and a most important one, is that the American oil companies looked abroad for oil to supply their home market: then the cuts on imports forced them to try to sell abroad what they had found abroad. During the 1950s it also happened that local nationalist feeling made each country want its own refinery; as a result there are too many refineries. Finally, nature was generous and oil exploration, particularly in North and West Africa, found enormous new fields."

About the planners he writes:

The result is that there is more oil, more coal and more electricity at lower cost than anyone foresaw. As recently as 1956 the standard view, taken, for instance, in the Hartley Commission Report, was that there would be a general fuel shortage lasting as far ahead as could be foreseen. That has already been proved false.

RUSSIA TOO!

In the early days Russian economists used to maintain that in that country self-sufficiency was the aim and production was planned for the needs of Russian industry only. Now Russian trade departments are busy scouring the markets of the world for outlets for surplus commodities, from motor cars to oil. A special correspondent of the *Times* (8/9/60), who holds the view that the trade drive is only partly political in its aims, quotes from a recent Russian novel what he accepts as a picture of what has happened:

A Russian novel which has just appeared devotes a chapter to the embarrassment of local officials in the Voiga oilfields who are faced with an unexpected abundance of oil for which insufficient outlets exist. This presents a new problem for Soviet planners. By long tradition, they are conditioned to urge the industrial chiefs on the spot to increase output to the maximum extent, rewarding them generously with bonuses for "overfulfilling the plan."

The planners now appear to suffer from overfilled storage tanks, and measures must be taken to check the flow, which has consistently exceeded expectation. For example, the oil plan for 1960, as laid down in 1956, envisaged an output of 134m. tons, but production in 1960 is, in fact, likely to exceed 144m. tons. If these output figures are indeed unexpectedly high, they must have outrun the growth in refining and storage capacity, and it is reasonable to suppose that the foreign trade agencies of the U.S.S.R. are under heavy pressure to dispose of extra quantities of Soviet oil abroad, additional to amounts which were originally earmarked for export.

A sideline on this is provided by Mr. Stephen Parkinson, who recently led a delegation of British business men to Russia on behalf of the Institute of Directors. Writing in the *Director* (August, 1960) he reports that the Russian officials they met "could not resist talking about greater trade possibilities and making one or two acid comments about their failure to sell Soviet oil to Britain"—the British government has so far turned a cold eye on Russian offers to sell oil here well below the prices of the British and American companies.

Mr. Parkinson also had something to say about the Russian sense of humour which he finds is rather like the British. He tells of Russian officials he met: "Nor were they backward in pointing to what they considered to be the advantages of Socialism over capitalism, but it was all done with good humour

and often to lighten the tedium of a long meeting."

If Russian officials say, and Mr. Parkinson accepts, that Russian State capitalism is Socialism, it is funnier than any of them think.

H.

THE "BENEFITS OF NATIONALISATION"

Some long-service railwaymen, on retirement, are invited to public presentations, praised for their loyalty, and given a cheque for £5. Afterwards, British Railways deduct the money from the men's pensions. A railways spokesman explained yesterday:

"Before nationalisation it was the custom to present long-serving employees on retirement with a cheque. A nationalised industry has no power to make gifts of that kind, but it is often felt preferable to make a formal presentation to a retiring railwayman rather than let him retire with the occasion unmarked. It is just that to comply with regulations the cheque has to be regarded officially as an advance payment of the pension."

A typical case was that of Mr. Pat Wiggott, of Hathersage, Derbyshire, who has just retired—after 46 years' service—on a pension of 9s. 7d. a week. It should have been 9s. 9d. but Mr. Wiggott was handed a cheque for £5. British Railways are deducting the money at the rate of 2d. a week for 11 years.

The Guardian (8/9/60.)

NEWSAGENTS

We intend to print some names of newsagents from whom the *SOCIALIST STANDARD* can be bought each month. Here is the first provisional list, other areas will be listed in subsequent issues.

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BRIDGWATER, SOMERSET.

Giles and Williams, Taunton Road.
Acland & Son, North Street.

BOOKS

Leaders of the Blind

This is the first of a series of articles reappraising books which were part of almost every socialist's library in the early part of this century.

Ten Blind Leaders of the Blind, by Arthur M. Lewis: published in Chicago by Charles H. Kerr and Company in 1908.

This is a volume of ten lectures delivered by Mr. Lewis in America before the first world war. Mr. Lewis claims to be a Socialist, but is really, like so many others who make the same claim, only a Social Democrat (in British terms, a Labourite). Nevertheless, this book is full of interest to any Socialist.

It deals with ten politicians, writers, and philosophers. Some of them are now forgotten; few people these days have heard of Benjamin Kidd and Professor Richard Ely. Yet it is instructive to be reminded of some of these erstwhile worthies. Bishop Spalding, for example. Speaking of the contrast between rich and poor, the bishop had this to say:

That the cause of this disparity of condition is moral rather than economic, whoever observes may see; and this fact gives emphasis to the great truth that all real amelioration in the lot of human beings depends on religious, moral and intellectual conditions. Money does not make a miser rich nor its lack a true man poor. . . . For the most fortunate men life is full of difficulties and troubles; for the poorest it may be filled with light, peace and blessedness.

In a Socialist State, in which the universal ideal is that of physical well-being and comfort, the sublimer moods which make saints, heroes, and men of genius possible would no longer be called forth.

So it is not only ourselves who have had to listen to bishops telling us that we are poor because of "moral conditions," and that the poorest may be "filled with blessedness," whatever that means; our forefathers had to put up with this cant as well. On the other hand, the spectacle of bishops, who are notoriously well-provided in point of "physical well-being and comfort," warning their flocks against these terrible Socialists, who would extend "physical well-being and comfort" even to non-bishops, must have been as entertaining then as it is now.

Others of Mr. Lewis's subjects are remembered now only as historical curiosi-

ties. One such is Henry George, who proposed that landlords should be made to turn all their rent over to the state. This would give the state a sufficient income, and no one else would then have to pay any taxes. Henry George's Land Tax movement, to which reformers flocked in the last part of the nineteenth century, was of course the outcome of the reluctance of the capitalists to pay for the running of the countries which they ruled. As Marx said of earlier proposals of the same kind: "This is the frank expression of hatred which the industrial capitalist entertains for the landowner, who seems to him a useless or superfluous entity in the scheme of bourgeois or capitalist production." But the only people who can pay for the running of a capitalist country are the capitalists; and Henry George's land tax schemes have been exploded many years.

Another curiosity is Cesare Lombroso. It is astounding now to recall that he became famous for his theories that the causes of crime were in physical build: that men became murderers and thieves because of the shape of their skulls or the colour of their hair. He wrote books purporting, for example, to show that "prostitutes have smaller skulls, lighter hair, darker eyes, heavier bodies, and shorter feet than normal women."

Thomas Carlyle

It is not now necessary to argue against Lombroso. But other controversies touched on by Mr. Lewis are still raging with undiminished fury. The chapter on Thomas Carlyle is largely concerned with the "Great Man Theory," which still has its devotees. This theory, in Carlyle's words, holds that "Universal History, the history of what man has accomplished in this world, is at bottom the history of the great men who have

worked here." It is the leaders, the politicians, the inventors (say the apologists of this school) who go ahead of mankind, who mould history according to their ideas, who change the entire course of a nation's progress by their sudden, brilliant decisions. For example, in Carlyle's view the whole Reformation depended on Luther. If he had recanted when the Roman Catholic authorities summoned him to appear before them, the entire Reformation (in this view) would never have occurred. But to believe this one has to ignore the fact that the ruling class of much of Europe was on the verge of revolt over the revenues that the Catholic Church drained away from their subjects: no ruling class is content with half the surplus value of its subjects, if it thinks there is the faintest chance of getting it all. The atmosphere was that of a powder magazine. When a powerful class is ready for revolt, any spark will set it off: if Luther had not provided the spark in this case, then somebody else would.

Mr. Lewis also deals with the case of invention and discovery. The "Great Man Theory" says that inventors and discoverers are men who independently strike out in front of the rest of mankind, and by the sheer force of intellect or character mark out the road which the human race is to follow. But this is to go sadly wide of the facts. When the material conditions, and the productive processes, of a certain country have reached a stage where a new step is both desirable and possible, then inventors will do the rest. If one fails, another will succeed. Very often an invention or discovery is made independently by two or more people. For example, the telescope was invented independently by Jansen, by Lippershey, and by Galileo in the space of two years. Oxygen was discovered independently by Priestley and by a Swedish village apothecary. The nebular theory of the universe was discovered both by Kant and by Laplace. The planet Neptune was discovered by Adams and by Leverrier. The principle of evolution by natural selection was discovered by Darwin, and also, at the same time, by Alfred Russell Wallace. The materialist conception of history was discovered both by Marx and by Engels. These famous examples, along with other

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The
WESTERN
SOCIALIST

evidence, are marshalled skilfully by Mr. Lewis in this chapter.

Immanuel Kant

Another chapter which is worth careful reading is that on Kant. Kant was one of those philosophers who devoted themselves to endeavours to bolster up religion. Religious belief cannot be supported by reason, as religious apologists are often ready to admit. Why, then, should one believe what is not rational? A common theological answer is—Faith: you cannot reason out the existence of a God, but you must have Faith that he is there all the same. Which is much the same as saying, you cannot believe, but still you must believe.

This was the problem that Kant tackled. He started off by maintaining, in his *Critique of Pure Reason*, that we cannot see things as they really are, only as they appear to be. The two tools by which men understand the world, experience and reason, were thus written off. One suspects that this was because neither experience nor reason can support religious belief. Having cleared the ground, Kant then passed on to the ques-

tion of how we can come to know the "eternal verities"—a phrase which usually includes religious belief. He had to find a source of knowledge independent of experience and reason. In his *Critique of Practical Reason*, he brings forward his answer: we must dive down inside our own consciousness, and there we will find the great necessary and universal truths. And what are these great necessary and universal truths? Kant scrabbled around in his own consciousness, and came up with his own list. No prizes are offered for guessing what they were: a personal God, free will, and a future life were all there—all the usual rag-bag of religious beliefs. One can imagine the howl of derision that would go up if a Socialist attempted to justify his beliefs with such transparent tarradiddle: but because Kant supported the political and religious beliefs of the owning class, he was honoured as a great philosopher, and still is.

The beliefs of Kant, and the beliefs of Carlyle, are still held by many who support the present system of society. If only to read these two chapters it is worthwhile getting hold of this book.

A. W. E.

What happened in 1959

CONTINUING a tradition now more than two hundred years old, Penguin Books have recently published *World Events, The Annual Register of the Year, 1959* (10s.). In a broad sweep of nearly 600 pages it sets out to cover the main events and developments in the world during that year.

The first 56 pages recount the chief happenings in this country during 1959, and a further 300 pages are devoted to events in the rest of the world. There are subsequent chapters on developments in science and the arts, together with a section on economic matters containing some extremely useful factual information on British trade and industry. Finally, amongst some other miscellaneous items, there is a chronicle of events over the year and a comprehensive index.

Living with events from day to day, it is often difficult to see their significance as a whole. Even more is this the case when the events themselves occur so rapidly that one is hard pressed to keep up with them let alone succeed in remembering them or putting them in relationship one with the other. The virtue of a book such as this is in helping us first, to remember many things we have

forgotten and second, to discern more clearly the sweep and progression of events against the background of time.

The value of the book, therefore, is for those who are constantly in need of the happenings of the past to illustrate and explain the events of the present. As such it is a useful book for all Socialists and a particularly useful one for those engaged in writing and speaking on behalf of the Party.

S. H.

PARTY NOTICES

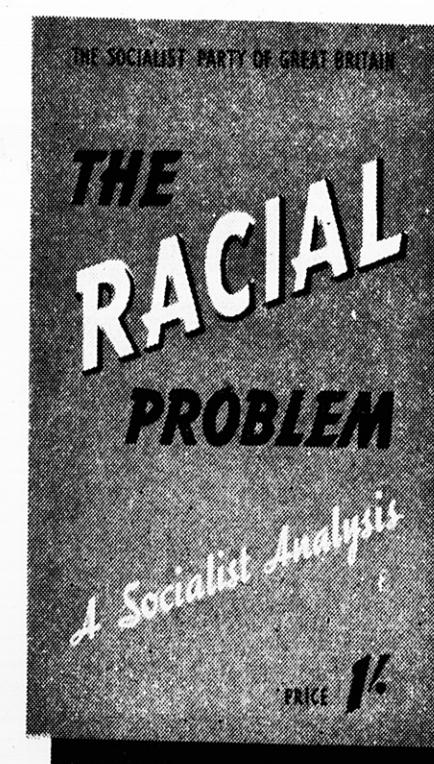
THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the SPGB Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4. at 7.30 p.m.

ORDERS for literature should be sent to the Literature Department, SPGB, at the above address.

CORRESPONDENCE for the Executive Committee should be sent to the General Secretary, SPGB, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4. (Telephone: Macaulay 3811).

LETTERS containing postal orders, etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, SPGB, at the above address. Postal orders and cheques should be crossed and made payable to the SPGB.

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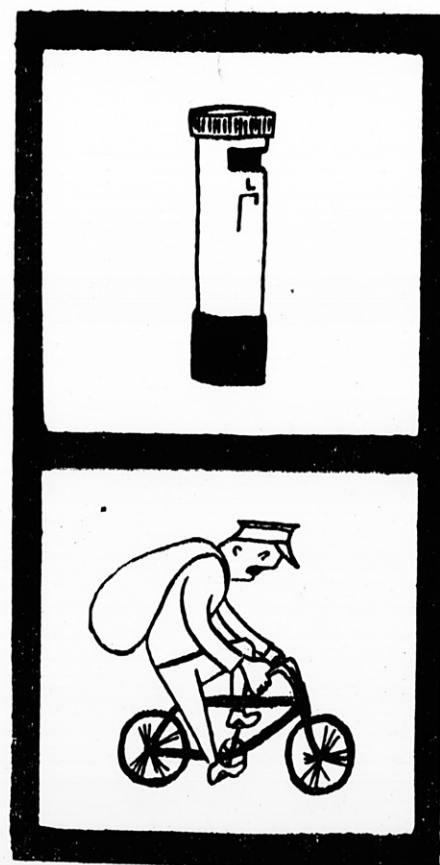
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The Socialist Case

THE Socialist case is really quite simple, and easily understood by anyone of normal intelligence. However, its very simplicity may make it difficult to accept.

Modern capitalism is a very complex social system. The average person, confronted with economics, banking, currency, accountancy, the Law, etc., seems to be overwhelmed and finds great difficulty in understanding. He also believes that these are permanent and indispensable attributes of society, and therefore it is best that they are left in the hands of the highly trained specialists, the "great" men, to be safely operated. When Socialists claim that this economic superstructure, while it is necessary to capitalist society, is so much lumber in a sanely organised society, they are looked upon as people not quite sane. The simple proposal that the land, the factories, transportation and so on (the means of production) should be owned commonly and democratically controlled and operated by and for the benefit of the people, appears to the average person to be impossible. Our task, which is to convince a majority of the workers of the correctness of our case, is not therefore an easy one.

In the course of many centuries, private property based societies have evolved in several forms. Chattel—slavery, feudalism and modern wage-slavery, have been in existence; the lease of life of capitalism is not yet ended. But though the life of capitalism may be indefinite it is, fortunately, not infinite. Sooner or later its end must come.

The Socialist proposition has been arrived at after very careful investigation and analysis of the economic, social and cultural history of mankind. This proposition is that the freedom of man from economic bondage, poverty, insecurity, and so on, can only be realised by abolishing the present social system and establishing a Socialist society. Our case is very strongly supported by the facts of social evolution and the practical experience of the consequences of the operation of capitalism in all parts of the world.

Irrespective of the stage of man's development, or the particular social system, the production of food, clothing and shelter must be accomplished by man. His continuity of life and the reproduction of the species depends

upon his successfully doing this job. In common with all other animals he must obtain the essentials of life. In the course of time the method in which he accomplished this task has varied in accordance with the type of tools he has fashioned and the circumstances in which he found himself. In modern capitalism he obtains his food, clothing and shelter through the medium of wage labour.

Capitalism is a social system in which the privately owned means of production take the specific form of capital. Capital is therefore a social power which is personified in the capitalist class. The mode—or method—of production in society is the production of commodities for sale in order to realise profit. It should be noted that the primary object of producing wealth is profit, not need. Capitalist society divides people into classes. On one hand, the capitalist class who own the means of production, but do not produce; on the other, the working class who are the sole producers, but do not own the means of production. As a consequence of this class division of society a struggle between the two classes takes place over the division of society's wealth. It should be self evident to anyone that we have a social basis here in which the interests of capitalist and workers are never likely to be reconciled. An interminable class war, or struggle, of a somewhat grim character is a permanent feature. Also, as the economic keystone is profit the owning class will only permit the productive machinery to be used when they feel fairly certain of realising this profit.

It is obvious that this owning class, the capitalists, by virtue of their ownership and control are in a position to control the lives and destinies of the population. Capitalism can only function in the interests of the capitalist class. It was never intended to do otherwise.

As a result of these social circumstances the workers' access to food, clothing, and shelter, is through the medium of wage labour. In days gone by, man's struggle for survival was between himself and nature, but now he is confronted with his fellow man, the capitalist, the exploiting animal. In the industrial field, the worker is looked upon merely as an appendage of capital, a productive essential. The worker enters here in order to sell his mental and phy-

sical energy—as an engineer, labourer, etc. This energy in capitalist society is a commodity, capitalist and worker therefore meet as buyers and sellers of labour power. An agreement having been reached, the worker enters the factory where he finds ready for him machinery and raw materials. He expends his energy in producing, obtains his wages, and departs.

On the surface all appears to be quite fair and honest. No one seems to have taken advantage of the other. However, Socialists are very emphatic in their claim that the working class are robbed, enslaved and exploited. Although this claim is very true it is not quite evident from a superficial survey. A little deeper penetration is necessary. It should first be made quite clear that commodities have definite values. The amount of value contained in any commodity is determined by the quantity of abstract human labour, socially necessary and of generally average skill and intensity. We always express this value in terms of cash.

The value of the commodity, labour power, which the worker sells is determined in the same way. For example, a given quantity of food, clothing and shelter is required in order to reproduce the expended energy and to reproduce future workers. This amount may vary slightly according to circumstances. But if we take five shillings an hour as the approximate value of craftsmen's labour power, a forty-hour week would yield a total wage of ten pounds. If we now enter the factory and observe, we shall find that in the first twenty hours of labour the worker has produced new values amounting to ten pounds. Of course, he continues his work for an additional twenty hours and produces another ten pounds. Thus our capitalist has doubled the variable capital invested (wages). His ten pounds is now twenty. This is the sole source of profit, rent and interest, which cannot be obtained from any other source.

What the worker receives is the value of his labour power, not the value of his labour. His labour has yielded twice the quantity, in new values, that his labour power cost to buy. As a seller in this field, the worker has nothing other than his labour power to sell. His labour is the process of expending his energy in production and is embodied in the new merchandise produced. Together with the products, it belongs to the capitalist, who sells the goods and realises his profit. The size of his profit is the difference between what the worker produces and what he receives in wages. This is surplus value, the amount of the wealth

50 Years Ago



SOCIALISM, WORK AND BEAUTY

In the "golden age of labour" the craftsman owned his tools and used them for the production of beautiful and useful objects, which were his when made. It was to his credit to put the best that was in him into the things he produced, and all things combined, not only to give him opportunity, but to encourage him to exercise thoroughness in the construction, and to give his work that expression of his individuality which is the very essence of art. He was his own master, free to embody his own ideas in his own product in his own time, not dogged at every step by some impatient holder of a stop-watch, and forced to inscribe on a time-sheet the moments of each stage of production.

How different is the position of the modern toiler (craftsman he cannot be called). Labour today is divorced from art. The labourer has neither right nor interest in the object upon which he labours. It matters not to him whether the article produced be ugly or beautiful, useless or useful. He is an automaton hired to do a certain task; the slave of a machine. . . .

To raise the workers from the level of the machine and to place them in the position of men is the object of Socialism. . . . It is our desire, not to return to the method of production of the Middle Ages, but to obtain the happiness and comfort, and the security of life enjoyed by the craftsmen of that day, by making ourselves masters, collectively, of our tools, material and time, shapers of our own destiny.

From the SOCIALIST STANDARD,
October, 1910.

NORTH WEST KENT DISCUSSION GROUP

Will any readers in the Bexleyheath, Crayford, Dartford, Erith, Gravesend and Welling areas of North West Kent interested in the formation of a discussion group, communicate with H. J. Wilson, 7 Cyril Road, Bexleyheath, Kent (phone Bexleyheath 1950).

Also any readers in the Sidcup, Mottingham, Orpington, Eltham, Chislehurst areas communicate with W. G. Catt, 32, Ickleton Road, S.E.9 (Kipling 1796).

RUSSIA SINCE 1917

Collection of articles on Soviet
Russia published in the Socialist
Standard between 1917-1952

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(To be concluded)

J. H.

Meetings

DELEGATE MEETING LECTURE

Sunday, October 2nd, 7.15 p.m.
52, Clapham High Street, S.W.4.

"WELFARE CAPITALISM"

Speaker: P. Bryant (Socialist Party of Australia).

HACKNEY LECTURE

Wednesday, 12th October, 8 p.m.
Room 3, Bethnal Green Town Hall.

"CAPITALISM v. SOCIALISM"

Speaker: E. McKone.

LEWISHAM DISCUSSIONS.

Room 1, Co-op. Hall, Davenport Road,
Rushey Green, S.E.6, 8.15 p.m.

Monday, 17th October.

"REFORMS." Opener: P. Lawrence.

Monday, 31st October.

"TRADE UNIONISM IN THE SIXTIES."

Opener: J. Edmonds.

WEMBLEY LECTURES.

A series of Historical Lectures.

Wembley Branch, Barham Old Court,
Barham Park, Harrow Road, Wembley.

Monday, 10th October, 8 p.m.

"FEUDAL SOCIETY."

Speaker: V. Phillips.

Monday, 24th October, 8 p.m.

"THE GREAT REVOLT."

Speaker: V. Phillips.

Monday, 14th November, 8 p.m.

"THE SAXON INVASION."

Speaker: J. Law.

Monday, 28th November, 8 p.m.

"SAXON SOCIETY & CULTURE."

Speaker: J. Law.

LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS.

Sundays

Hyde Park, 3 p.m.

East Street, Walworth.

October 2nd and 23rd (noon).

October 9th and 30th (11 a.m.).

October 16th (1 p.m.).

Beresford Square, Woolwich, 8 p.m.

Thursdays

Tower Hill, 12.30—2 p.m.

Saturdays

Rushcroft Road, Brixton, 8 p.m.

Hyde Park, 7.30 p.m.

GLASGOW OUTDOOR MEETINGS.

Saturdays

Royal Exchange Square, 3 p.m.
(off Queens Street).

Sundays

West Regent Street, 7.30 p.m.
(outside Odeon Cinema).



Party News

ISLINGTON

Islington members have been reading *The New Class*, by Djilas (former supporter of Tito and ex-Vice President of Yugoslavia), and J. Bonus will open a discussion on the book at the Branch Room, Co-op Hall, 129, Seven Sisters Road, N.7, on Thursday, October 13th, at 8.15 p.m. Further, Islington Branch is arranging a discussion with a member of the Yugoslav Democratic Union (an organisation of exiled Yugoslavs) sometime in November. Details will be announced soon.

WEMBLEY

The new branch at Wembley seems to have made quite a good start. The inaugural meeting was held at the beginning of July, and a fair amount of activity has been packed in since then.

Two visits have been paid to Southsea, one on August 14th and the other on September 11th, and both were successful, with interested audiences and good literature sales. In addition, on Friday evenings throughout September, some very encouraging outdoor meetings were held by this branch at Gloucester Road.

A film show took place on September 12th at the branch rooms and although it was the first to be held there, it attracted a number of non-members. The title of the film was "Eldorado"—a documentary on British Guiana, and it was followed by the usual comments, by a member of the Party.

This has encouraged us to think about further shows in the future, but this will, of course, depend on time available, for there is a very crowded autumn and winter programme of historical lectures. Three members of the branch will be responsible for these, and details appear elsewhere in this issue.

The branch has lost no time in canvassing the *SOCIALIST STANDARD*, and both Harrow and Greenford areas have been given special attention. The results have been most gratifying, and local comrades are following up the contacts made. It is hoped to expand sales of the *S.S.* and other literature steadily over the next few months.

It can be seen from all this that the new branch is active and intends to stay that way. But more help is always welcome and members living in the vicinity are particularly asked to give us their support where possible. We have pleasantly situated branch rooms at Barham Old Court,

Barham Park, Harrow Road, Wembley, and meet every Monday at 8 p.m. Members of the public are cordially invited and facilities are available for the friendly cup of tea and cake after each meeting.

EALING

Ealing Branch meetings are continuing very satisfactorily. Outdoor activities have been handicapped by the weather, but some good meetings have been held at Gloucester Road with reasonable literature sales. A very good propaganda trip to Southsea took place on 4th September, with two meetings at which there were excellent audiences. Some useful contacts were made. Winter activities include lectures by Branch members and the resumption of the West London Writers' Class.

PADDINGTON

On Sunday, September 11th, Paddington Branch paid a social and propaganda visit to Birmingham. Eight members (and a "fellow traveller" from Fulham) drove up in a minibus and were most hospitably received by Birmingham Branch members. After Sunday dinner and conviviality as guests of the local members, an outdoor meeting was held in the centre of the city at Chamberlain Place. This speaking spot is being built up in place of the traditional Bull Ring which is being completely rebuilt. It proved difficult to gather a large crowd partly due to the overwhelming noise from its fountain and droves of starlings on the surrounding buildings, but a small and attentive audience remained for three hours, and a fair amount of literature was sold. The speakers were L. Cox, E. Grant, S. Goodman, I. Jones and C. Wilson. Thanks Birmingham members for your hospitality and support!

SWANSEA

Welcome Swansea Branch! This new Branch was recently formed by our enthusiastic and active Swansea members, who have been keeping the torch of Socialism alight in South Wales for some time. We invite all our readers in the Swansea area who are unable to personally attend Branch meetings to make a point of contacting the secretary (see Branch Directory, page 146, for details).

GLASGOW

The two Glasgow branches, City and Kelvingrove, are going to amalgamate their forces. Watch this column and the Branch directory for more details.

P. H.

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6th NOVEMBER 1960

SOCIALIST STANDARD

THE STRICKEN LABOUR PARTY



SCARBOROUGH 1960 - LABOUR LEADERS SING "AULD LANG SYNE"

"The delegates went through the usual form of pledging their unity and fraternity at the end of the proceedings but it never had a more hollow ring. And the end is not yet. In the months to come the factions will wangle bitterly about the leadership, the victors at Scarborough will try to press home their advantage and the defeated will fight back and try and reverse the conference's decisions."

**Battle of Euston Road
The Leader & the Labour Party
The Passing Show
Economics before Mercantilism
The Philanthropists**

JOURNAL OF THE
SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

Branches

Visitors are cordially invited to every meeting.

BASILDON Thursdays 7.30 pm, Craylands County Secondary School, Basildon. Correspondence: R. H. Bowie, Cranford, Basil Drive, Laindon, Essex.

BIRMINGHAM Thursdays 8 pm, "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. (Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month.) Correspondence: H. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road, Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.

BLOOMSBURY 1st and 3rd Thursdays (3rd & 17th November) in month 7.30 pm, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

BRADFORD & DISTRICT Correspondence: Peter Hall, 10 Spring Grove Terrace, Leeds 6. Tel: Bradford 71904 any time.

CAMBERWELL Mondays 8 pm, 52 Clapham High Street, SW4. Correspondence: H. Baldwin, 334 South Lambeth Road, Stockwell, SW8.

DARTFORD 1st and 3rd Fridays in month 8 pm, 4th November at 7 Cyril Road, Bexleyheath (Tel: BEX 1950) and 18th November at 32 Ickleton Road, Mottingham, SE9 (Tel: KIP 1796). Correspondence: W. G. Catt at above latter address.

EALING Fridays 8 pm, Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, near Ealing Broadway. Correspondence: M. Evers, 64 Pennard Road, W12.

ECCLES 2nd Monday (14th November) in month 7.30 pm, 5 Gaskell Road, Eccles. Correspondence: F. Lea at above address.

FULHAM & CHELSEA 1st and 3rd Thursdays in month (3rd Nov: discussion, 17th Nov: business) 8 pm, "Kings Head," 4 Fulham High Street, Putney Bridge, SW6. Correspondence: L. Cox, 22 Victoria House, Ebury Bridge Road, SW1 Tel: SLO 5258.

GLASGOW (City) Alternate Wednesdays (9th & 23rd November) 8 pm, Religious Institute Rooms, 200 Buchanan Street, C1. Correspondence: T. A. Mulheron, 366 Aikenhead Road, Glasgow, S2.

GLASGOW (Kelvingrove) Alternate Mondays (7th & 21st November) 8 pm, Partick Burgh Halls, Partick. Correspondence: R. Donnelly, 50 Doncaster Street, Glasgow, NW.

HACKNEY Wednesdays 7.30 pm, Bethnal Green Town Hall (Room 3, Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: S. Beck, 28 Petherton Road, N5.

ISLINGTON Thursdays 8 pm, Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N7. (Lecture or discussion after business.) Correspondence: C. Skelton, SPGB, c/o above address.

KINGSTON upon THAMES Correspondence: SPGB, 80 Farm Road, Esher, Surrey

LEWISHAM Mondays 8 pm, Co-op Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, SE6. Correspondence: P. Hart, 22 Gt. Elms Road, Bromley, Kent. Tel: RAV 7811.

NOTTINGHAM Alternate Wednesdays (9th & 23rd November) 7.30 pm, Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street. Correspondence: R. Powe, 8 Swains Avenue, Carlton Road.

PADDINGTON Wednesdays 8.30 pm, "The Olive Branch," Crawford Street, W1 (corner Homer St. near Marylebone Rd). Correspondence: SPGB, 76 Ladbroke Grove, W11.

SOUTHEND 1st and 3rd Tuesdays in month 7.30 pm, 1st November at 19 Kingswood Chase, Leigh-on-Sea and 15th November at 17 Cotswold Road, Westcliff-on-Sea. Correspondence: Dick Jacobs at above latter address.

SWANSEA 2nd and 4th Fridays (11th & 25th November) in month 8 pm, The Crypt, St. Pauls. Correspondence: F. J. Scrine, 10 Beach Street, Swansea.

WEMBLEY Mondays 8 pm, Barham Old Court, Barham Park, near Sudbury Town Station, Wembley. Correspondence: R. G. Cain, 48 Balfour Road, W13.

WEST HAM 2nd and 4th Thursdays (10th & 24th November) in month 8 pm, Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E12. (Discussions from 9 pm.) Correspondence: D. Deutz, 80 Bawdsey Avenue, Ilford, Essex.

WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY Fridays 7.30 pm, 146 Inderwick Road, Hornsey, N8 (41 bus to Tottenham Lane, nr. "Hope & Anchor"). Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

WOOLWICH 2nd and 4th Fridays (11th and 25th November) in month 7.30 pm, Town Social Club, Mason's Hill, SE18. (Discussions at 8 pm.) Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens, Eltham, SE9.

Groups

BRISTOL Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Blackfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2. Tel: 24680.

CHELtenham Enquiries: Ken Smith, 338 Swindon Road.

DORKING & DISTRICT Enquiries: O. C. Iles, "Ashleigh," Townfield Road, Dorking.

MANCHESTER Enquiries: J. M. Breakey, 2 Dennison Avenue, Manchester 20. Tel: DID 5709.

MITCHAM & DISTRICT Tuesday 15th November 8 pm, "White Hart," Mitcham Cricket Green. Enquiries: T. Lord, 288 Church Road, Mitcham.

NEWPORT & DISTRICT Meeting at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport. (Details advertised in South Wales Argus.) Enquiries: M. Harris, 26 Oakfield Road, Lightwood, Cwmbran nr. Newport, Mon.

OLDHAM Wednesdays 7.30 pm, 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees at above address. Tel: MAI 5165.

REDHILL Enquiries: A. A. Kemp, 19 Ashcombe Road, Mersham, Redhill, Surrey.

SUSSEX Enquiries: W. Craske, "Hazelcroft," Green Road, Wivelsfield Green, Sussex.

COMPANION PARTIES

Socialist Party of Australia

P.O. Box 1440 Melbourne
29 Doris Street, North Sydney, P.O. Box 2291 Sydney

Socialist Party of Canada

P.O. Box 115 Winnipeg, Manitoba

Socialist Party of Ireland

Gen. Sec: 24 Newington Avenue, Belfast

Socialist Party of New Zealand

P.O. Box 62 Petone

World Socialist Party of the United States

11 Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston 9, Mass.

Socialist Party

OF GREAT BRITAIN

OBJECT

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

1] That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

2] That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

3] That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

4] That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

5] That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

6] That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

7] That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

8] The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.



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SOCIALIST STANDARD

JOURNAL OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN
NOVEMBER 1960 NO 675 VOL 56

THE STRICKEN LABOUR PARTY

THE SAME GALE that paralyzed the Trade Union Congress in the Isle of Man in September struck the Labour Party at Scarborough a month later.

The delegates went through the usual form of pledging their unity and fraternity at the end of the proceedings but it never had a more hollow ring. And the end is not yet. In the months to come the factions will wrangle bitterly about the leadership, the victors at Scarborough will try to press home their advantage and the defeated will fight back and try to reverse this conference's decisions.

Seen in perspective the British Labour Party, and like-minded parties in many parts of the world, had three main claims to working class support; the home policy of social reforms and full employment to lesson the evils of capitalism, the policy of wholesale nationalisation of industry, and the policy of seeking international harmony, avoiding war and promoting disarmament. In the course of years and during three periods of Labour Government first one and then the other of these aims has run into disaster. In 1931 it was the "economic blizzard" and record unemployment that ended MacDonald's Labour Government and split the party. In two world conflagrations they found themselves helping Tories and Liberals to impose conscription and wage war, and in 1951 it was the Labour Government that launched the great cold-war re-armament programme. Even in 1924 the Labour Government ran into trouble, at that time over its armament building directed against France. On the home front nationalisation has turned into an election loser and the Tories have shown themselves adept at taking over social reforms from the Opposition—the latest example being the new pension scheme, invented and popularised by the Labour Party before being enacted by the present government. And the Tory government, luckier than Labour was in 1924-1931, has had years of low unemployment and thus robbed its opponents of a useful weapon.

What distinguishes the Labour Party's present troubles from earlier ones is that ever since 1951 they have been under attack and internally divided over home and foreign policy together.

But what was it that hit them? What has happened to bring so many good intentions to such an impasse? The answer given by Socialists when the Labour Party was founded is still true and should by now be glaringly evident. World wide capitalism is a social system of class division, owning class and working class, and the exploitation of the latter by the former. Internationally it is a ceaseless struggle of the national ruling group for dominance of resources, trade routes, strategic ports and markets. Everywhere the driving force is profit and everywhere strife and violence are the marks of the system. Labour Party policies of trying to secure smooth running and harmony at home through reforms and nationalisation, are as irrelevant to the real task of creating a new classless social system as are its hopes of international peace through United Nations.

It is the violent impact of capitalism, not abstract theorising about policies, that is shattering the Labour Party.

The Labour Party's near disintegration is not the failure of the movement for Socialism. Their extremity should be our opportunity. The tide of disillusionment that threatens to overwhelm millions of Labour supporters gives Socialists a greater chance of gaining support for our affirmation that only by the overthrow of world capitalism and its replacement by Socialism can there be a happy future for human society.

We also cannot refrain from pointing out to Labour supporters who are now discovering that their Party has been on the wrong lines all these years that the S.P.G.B. said at the beginning that it could not happen otherwise. It was foredoomed from the start.

News in Review

DISOBEDIENCE CAMPAIGN

IT WOULD APPEAR that true to their policy statement most of the CND leaders have completely disowned Lord Russell's proposals for a civil disobedience campaign. According to Lord Russell the proposals are an appeal to the conscience and intelligence of all men about the dangers of mass extermination. What concerns us is the kind of society reflected in these measures to flout authority. The real tragedy is that at election times the overwhelming majority vote for the retention of Capitalism and consequently for most of the policies which go with it, including the H-bomb. For this reason the Socialist is not being cynical when he makes the remark: "You got what you voted for."

To those CND supporters still undecided as to their next move it could be pointed out that by supporting any kind of civil disobedience they are fighting and will continue to fight the effects of the present system rather than abolishing it altogether and replacing it with a new and much less frustrating society.

RIGHT TO STRIKE

PATRICK NEARY has been released after spending six weeks in prison. He was the leader of the recent seamen's strike, and was sent to jail because he did not comply with a court order which told him (in effect) to give up all connection with the strike. Some newspapers have claimed that he was imprisoned not because he was a striker, but because he disobeyed the court order. This is to reject the substance and catch at the shadow. The reason Neary went to jail was because he had been elected chairman of the strike committee, and had therefore emerged as the figurehead of the strike. The shipping companies wanted to remind the seamen of the Merchant Shipping Act, under which any striking seaman can be sent to jail. As far as the mass of strikers were concerned, the companies were perhaps afraid of having them all sent to jail, for fear of repercussions: and so decided to call in the state machine (which after all they maintain to look after their interests) only against one man, the figurehead, Neary. Therefore Neary has had to endure for six weeks the vile indignities which are the lot of anyone in jail, because he took part in a strike and was elected chairman of the com-

mittee which ran it.

And what happened to the protests which we might have expected? The last war (our leaders told us) was fought to defend democratic freedoms. The right to withhold labour is a central democratic freedom. The alternative—sending men to jail because they refuse to work on the terms offered them by the capitalists—is slavery. But our ruling class had no objection to Neary's sentence. Their newspapers applauded it. Let us remember this the next time our rulers want our help to "fight for freedom and democracy."

KENNEDY v. NIXON

BBC TELEVISION has given up an hour of its time to show one of the debates between the rival candidates for the Presidency now being staged in the United States. It isn't clear why, unless it wants to demonstrate to British workers that there would be no point in emigrating. For the debate showed that politics have reached much the same stage over there as they have here. There are two great parties contending for the support of the working class. One of them holds that the system as it now stands is as near to perfect as anything ever devised by man. The other, which has the support of the unions, wants one or two reforms, which would do nothing whatever to change the class basis of society. Each of them has a programme and a policy, the essence of which is that each would run capitalism better than its rival.

In one respect the parallel is even closer. Over here we have become used to the Government of the day (whether Labour or Conservative) attacking any claim made for higher pay made by members of the working class, and treating any strike or threat to strike as if it heralded the end of civilisation. And then at each election, the Government, with superb effrontery, brings out any figures of higher pay won by the workers against the strenuous opposition of that very Government, as if it alone was responsible (and, at the same time, usually skates over any figures showing how inflation has left the workers in much the same position as they were before). In the televised debate Nixon, who has been vice-president for the last eight years, performed this very trick. He brought out the figures of wage increases as if he individually had led the workers in all

the struggles which must go before the smallest pay rise. And no doubt if Kennedy wins this time, he will re-appear in four years using exactly the same argument which Nixon uses now.

THE REFERENDUM

THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT has been given a majority vote in favour of a republic—a majority, that is, of white voters, as the vast mass of the population (the Africans, Indians and Cape Coloureds) in this referendum, as in all elections, have no vote. This winning of the referendum has, no doubt, pleased Dr. Verwoerd and his Nationalist supporters, but not all white South Africans are so pleased, although Dr. Verwoerd hoped that the creation of a republic would at last end the bitterness and hostility existing between the Boer South Africans and the English-speaking South Africans, which has remained since the Boer War. But this has not, so far, happened, and one of South Africa's leading industrialists, Mr. Harry Oppenheimer, is frankly worried that the Republic may have a harmful effect on industry, should it not be readmitted to the Commonwealth, partly because of loss of the imperial preference.

SUICIDES

FROM A RECENT MEETING of the British Medical Association at Middlesbrough, comes further evidence of the anti-social consequences of competition and production for profit. Dr. Sargent, physician-in-charge of the Department of Psychological Medicine at St. Thomas's Hospital, raised the matter of the 5,000 suicides which occur in this country yearly. According to Dr. Sargent, many patients who go on to commit suicide do so after wrong courses of treatment often resulting from confusion created by drug manufacturers in their publicity campaigns. Recently, advances have been made with a new group of anti-depressant drugs. "Unfortunately intensive competition between drug manufacturers to capture their share of an enormous potential market had resulted in excessive claims being made for them and wrong groups of cases suggested for their use," said Dr. Sargent.

Clearly the human considerations of treatment of the sick are secondary in the drive towards commercial success. Even so, anti-depressant drugs can at best only

hope to treat symptoms. A far more satisfactory way of preventing suicides would be to establish a society based on more harmonious social relations and which takes no toll of the individual in terms of emotional stress.

NIGERIA CHANGES

NIGERIANS LIVING in London marked Nigeria's coming to independence by publicly wearing their colourful and roomy national costumes. Was it worth celebrating? At the most, Nigeria will develop into another minor capitalist state; and we have seen enough of those to know that they have no more to offer their workers than any of the older established powers. Dr. Michael Okpara, the President of Eastern Nigeria, stated in the region's Assembly on 8th October that Nigerians would rather lay down their lives than lose their newly won freedom. At a guess this is a correct estimation of the loyalty of patriotic Nigerians who, like any other politically ignorant workers, are wide open to the propaganda of their masters.

But Dr. Okpara's statement gives the lie to those who pretend that the emerging capitalist countries are basically different from those whose power they have replaced. All over the world, workers are periodically called upon to die for the protection of their master's interests—and always they are told that they are dying to defend some high minded principle. British workers, for example, have fallen for this for a very long time. Now, the Nigerians are getting the same treatment. With, presumably, the same results—bloodshed and tragedy.

BLOWING THEIR TOPS

MR. KHRUSCHEV had a rare old time at the United Nations. Hugging Fidel Castro, making violent speeches, banging his desk and shouting. He even heckled Mr. Macmillan, which gave the British Prime Minister the chance to show how an Old Etonian deals with that sort of thing in the House of Commons. Such bad behaviour, it was reported, upset Mr. Eisenhower, who cancelled any intention of shaking hands with, or talking to, the Soviet Premier.

Now diplomatic conferences are not like chats over the garden wall, when boorishness can cause a man to be bad friends with his neighbour. Capitalist powers do not split on points of etiquette—their disputes are over rival economic interests. International politicians know better than to lose their tempers as openly

The Leader and the Labour Party

AT SCARBOROUGH it was outwardly politics that were being discussed, but the Leader and his supporters were also on trial. The questions were what should be the policy and who should be the leader.

On the main resolutions decisions were reached which will hold unless and until they are reversed, but the question of leadership was not decided, though various groups which think it was are looking round for Gaitskell's successor.

On different aspects of the dominating issue of nuclear weapons there were four resolutions, and Mr. Gaitskell and the Labour Party executive were defeated on all of them, though not by large majorities. It was a severe but perhaps not yet fatal blow for Mr. Gaitskell and the Labour M.P.s, the majority of whom stood for the official policy.

A resolution was carried that "Labour policy is decided by the Party conference which is the final authority," but the executive gave it an interpretation which seems to rob it of much of its meaning. Mr. Len Williams, the Party's National Agent, told the Conference that "the Parliamentary Labour Party" (that is, the Labour M.P.s.) is under no direction from conference or any other body. Mr. Williams said the National Executive did not wish to oppose the composite resolution if it was understood that it involved no change in the long-established principle governing relationships between conferences, National Executive and Parliamentary Party. And it had to be understood that nobody had the power to instruct the Parliamentary Party on the way it carried out its responsibilities." (*Daily Herald*, 5/10/60.)

And the day after the Conference Mr. Gaitskell made it clear that he has no present intention of resigning and on the contrary is preparing to overturn the Scarborough votes. Speaking in a TV interview he declared: "I regard it as absolutely vital that we should reverse this decision at next year's conference and I shall do everything I can to get that done." (*Daily Mail*, 9/10/60.)

He also gave it as his opinion that the

with, embrace, pose with, other diplomats who are little better than murderers.

The disputes of capitalism have always involved a large measure of humbug. The stakes are high—and no trick barred. A dirty game.

Parliamentary Labour Party will by a majority support the policy defeated by the delegates at Scarborough, the implication of which is that they will also confirm him in the Leadership, which incidentally carries with it the leadership of the Opposition at a government-provided salary of £3,000 a year.

Many Tory and Liberal newspapers, while criticising and regretting Mr. Gaitskell's unsuccessful tactics, lavished praise on him and openly hoped that he may survive his defeat by Conference.

But whether he goes or stays the prospect for the Labour Party is bleak indeed. In the constituencies and in Parliament there will be rival groups each determined to put their point of view, and laying the Party wide open to attack from Tories and Liberals. This may, as the Liberal leaders proclaim, give them an opportunity to win back former supporters who joined the Labour Party. One political commentator, Mr. Robert McKenzie, thinks that even if Mr. Gaitskell survives for the moment it will solve nothing for the Party. His opponents will regard it as a cynical trick that Mr. Gaitskell only claims the right to defy the trade Union block vote when it ceased to support his policy.

It is almost inevitable that the victims of this "trick" will fight on, either until they are expelled from the parliamentary party, or until Gaitskell himself is destroyed. And as the next election looms ahead, even some of those who admire Mr. Gaitskell's courage may decide that he must make way for someone who has at least a chance of reunifying the party. (*Observer*, 9/10/60.)

His own opinion, and hope, is that a new anti-H-Bomb Labour Party will be formed and that the Gaitskell faction will then come to terms with the Liberals.

Another danger for the Labour Party is that the conflict will lead to loss of some trade union support and may influence relationships between the Party and the TUC. Sir Thomas Williamson, Secretary of the General and Municipal Workers Union told conference that some of the branches would withdraw

support from the Labour Party if the anti-nuclear resolutions were carried. (*Daily Telegraph*, 6/10/60.) The correspondent of *The Times* (7/10/60) reported that events at the conference had strengthened the already existing movement to reduce or sever the TUC's connection with the Party.

It is an accepted convention of professional politics that the politician always claims to speak "for the people"—or, as he sometimes qualifies it—"for all intelligent people." It is not so easy to decide what a Labour Party conference vote represents. Mr. Cousins claimed that he speaks "for Britain," a claim that Tory newspapers angrily rejected. Out of more than 22 million workers in this country, of whom 9,600,000 are in trade unions, the TUC has in its affiliated unions about 8 million, and the Labour Party 5,600,000. If Labour Party conference votes represented the views of its affiliated trade unionists and the additional 875,000 individual members who belong to local parties, cooperative societies, etc., they could be taken as representing directly the considered wishes of the majority among 6 million workers. (A large, but unknown number of the individual members also count as part of the affiliated trade union membership). But Labour Party spokesmen are well aware that their voting methods, including the trade union block vote, can produce distorted results. Even so, the claim of the *Daily Herald* (which now supports the H-bomb) that the great majority of Labour supporters are with them on that issue is, to say the least, somewhat surprising. According to a poll undertaken by Odhams Press Research Division "an overwhelming majority of Labour supporters and trade

unionists are against the West giving up H-bombs and nuclear weapons so long as Russia keeps hers... more than four out of five Labour supporters think that Britain and America should keep the bomb." (*Daily Herald*, 4/10/60.)

There are, of course, sceptics who think that public opinion polls may be no more accurate than block votes.

The *Guardian* shares the *Herald's* view of the vote and roundly declared that the Conference is not democratic "while it is governed by trade union block votes... There is no democracy in giving Mr. Cousins one million votes. As the world will probably see today, one or two men can turn Labour's policy upside down." (*Guardian*, 5/10/60.)

Mr. Gaitskell, defeated on the H-bomb, gained the day on a policy statement which in effect discards old aims of wholesale nationalisation, and puts in their place the possibility of nationalising a few selected industries, together with the plan for a Labour Government to buy shares in companies without taking them over. It recognises that "both public and private ownership have a place in society." Delegates speaking in opposition called it "underwriting capitalism" and the abandonment of "Socialism." Mr. Gaitskell retorted that the proposals were just as much "Socialist" as is Nationalisation, a fact on which Socialists can heartily agree: since nationalisation is state capitalism and has never been advocated by the S.P.G.B.

While the delegates were maintaining, with varying degrees of enthusiasm, that they still believe in nationalisation as the answer to the workers' problems, strikes were going on in the nationalised coal industry (they break out at the rate of over 30 a week year after year), the Railwaymen were preparing for a strike over pay and Postal workers were discussing a strike resolution over hours of work. And it would seem from the rent strikes and the riots that followed forcible eviction of council tenants by a local council that nationalisation's little sister municipal ownership is no less unpopular.

The day that the *Daily Herald* reported the vote on the policy of the government buying company shares it reported developments in the direction of a little private enterprise by the local Labour parties themselves. They are planning to form a Unit Trust to invest their funds in company shares and thus cash in on the rise in the profits and prices of ordinary shares that has accompanied inflation. A trade union Unit Trust is already being organised.

H.

The Battle of Euston Road

IT WAS A ROUGH night at St. Pancras—rough enough to make any spectator catch the first Tube home. The atmosphere was tense and hate-filled. Shouting and swearing, pushing and falling, the rent-demonstrators grappled with the police. Some people, with the detached air of a personal mission unconnected with the violence around them, tried to ease an embarrassed way through the crowd. We have become unaccustomed, over the past decade or so, to police baton charges. But that night it seemed that the Euston Road was suddenly shot back into the 'thirties and the days of the hunger marchers.

The newspapers have tried to gloss over the barricades and the attempts to resist the bailiffs as the work of Communists and Trotskyists. Is this true? Or were the riots the work of the Teds, out for a night's punch-up with the police? Certainly, all these people were prominent. But the majority of those involved were neither Communists nor delinquents. They were simply some of the working class folk of St. Pancras, protesting against the old fashioned bread and butter problem of increasing rents. In doing so, they showed up one hole in the rosy tapestry of the so-called affluent Society. For this was no gripe about the size of a telly screen or the horse-power of a new car. These people were down to the fundamentals of getting a living.

Were the rioters, then, correct? Should they have gone ahead with their plan to seize the Town Hall and evict the Housing Manager? In fact, such activity is futile, for it attracts the full pressure of the state machine. There was no lack of police outside the Town Hall that night—and four hundred were mustered for the evictions of the barricaded tenants. This at a time when, we are told, understaffing of the police force makes it difficult to deal with the crime wave. In other words, here was the capitalist state firmly applying itself to the protection of property society. And that state machine is maintained by the continual support which the vast majority of the working class regularly gives to capitalism. This is the real tragedy of St. Pancras, try as the left-wing stirrers may to ignore it.

The need is not for workers to go demonstrating and rioting, but to examine the structure of society. Housing and

rents have been a problem for a long time, with each party putting forward its own alleged solution. "Vote for me," says Bloggs. "And I will stabilise your rents." "A vote for me," pleads Sloggs. "Will secure a protected tenancy with greater freedom for moving rents to a natural level." But voting for either of them, or anybody like them, means support for the system in which housing and all the other necessities of life can only be obtained by paying for them. An increase in the price of housing, whether it be rents or payments on a mortgage, means at the very least a temporary problem for the people who depend on a wage or a salary for their living. And if they sort out that problem, there is always another, equally pressing and equally serious.

It is no pipe dreaming, nor an incitement to defy the landlord, to say that it is not necessary to pay rent. We could build living accommodation to fulfil the needs and desires of the people. We could have a world in which all wealth is produced to satisfy human needs, a world without landlords, private or state. To get that, we do not need marches and violence. We need knowledge of the society we live in.

St. Pancras, even by working class standards is not an affluent place, despite extensive rebuilding. It never was. Here live workers who, just like those in the suburbs, depend on a wage for their living—but often their wage is so small that their dependence upon it is almost desperate. No wonder a rent increase touched them on the raw. It is sad to see workers so courageously defying the powers of capitalism, knowing that they lack the essential equipment for victory. How much happier, if they got down to an understanding of society. With that, they could win the only victory worth having.

JACK LAW.

PARTY NOTICES

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the S.P.G.B. Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4, at 7.30 p.m.

ORDERS for literature should be sent to the Literature Department, S.P.G.B., at the above address.

CORRESPONDENCE for the Executive Committee should be sent to the General Secretary, S.P.G.B., 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4 (Telephone: Macaulay 3811).

LETTERS containing postal orders, etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, S.P.G.B., at the above address. Postal orders and cheques should be crossed and made payable to the S.P.G.B.

Put not your trust

AT THE END of the Labour Party conference there was much speculation upon who, if anybody, might replace Mr. Gaitskell as leader. Some correspondents reported that Mr. Harold Wilson was bidding for the job. Others tried to frighten their readers by mentioning Mr. Cousins or Mr. Michael Foot as possible contenders.

Leader-hunting is an old pastime in the Labour Party; Mr. Gaitskell is only the latest of many who have fallen out of favour. Over the years, we have grown familiar with the dreary process of some Labour politicians starting their careers as left-wing firebrands and ending them as right wing sticks-in-the-mud. We have seen them cheered by Labour conferences for their outspoken reformatory zeal—only to lose some of their popularity later, because they joined the supporters of the leadership they had once attacked. Then it has been their turn to come under the lash of some self-styled militant.

What of the ordinary members of the Labour Party, who are often so dismayed by this apparent betrayal? Do they learn anything from their disappointment? Sadly, no. As one set of leaders falls from grace, so the search is started for a new set and each time the searchers convince themselves that they have at last found the honest, consistent and capable men whom they would like to have at the top of their party. They never, apparently, consider the proposition that all leaders, whatever their sincerity and ability, are futile. That if a political movement is to be worthwhile, it must be based upon something other than leader-worship.

One of the reasons for this can be found in some of the speeches which were made at Scarborough. Again and again, speakers sought to prove that the particular policy they were advocating was an effective vote catcher. Mr. Sam Watson, for example, argued that if the Labour Party went unilateralist, it would have little chance of achieving political power. Mr. Cousins replied that the party had lost the last two elections on the old policy and stood a chance of receiving more electoral support by advocating nuclear disarmament. This is not the first time that discussion at Labour conferences has turned on such a point. In recent years, debates on such issues as land nationalisation have been overshadowed by the party's concern to hold

their vote in special areas of the country.

In other words, one of the Labour Party's first worries is not the effects which their policies may have upon the welfare of the working class, but whether they can convince enough voters that those policies are sufficiently in their interests to warrant support for them at election time. This is an appeal not to knowledge, but to ignorance. And these are the conditions in which leaders are necessary.

Why do so many Labour leaders seem to betray the trust in them? Because they can only administer a policy which, whatever niggling reforms it may contain, leaves the capitalist social system intact. Capitalism has its inevitable problems. The betrayal is in the fact that the leaders promise that, with them in control, we can have one without the other. That is why ex-pacifist leaders of the Labour Party have come to support the production of nuclear weapons, and men who climbed to power through the trade unions have sat in a government which has broken strikes.

Is there no end to this? Leaders, we have said, exist by virtue of the ignorance of their followers. With political understanding, they are unnecessary. If workers understood that, say, nuclear weapons are one of the inevitable products of capitalist society, they would be immune to any plea in favour of manufacturing them. As it is, they are susceptible to appeals on such grounds as political expediency and patriotism. And they are prey to the allurements of leaders, treacherous or otherwise.

Knowledge, then, is the key. Workers must understand the cause of capitalism's problems and realise that they will be solved only by the establishment of Socialism. Without that, we face the chaos and brutality of capitalism. With it, a happy, free and plentiful world is ours for the taking.

IVAN.

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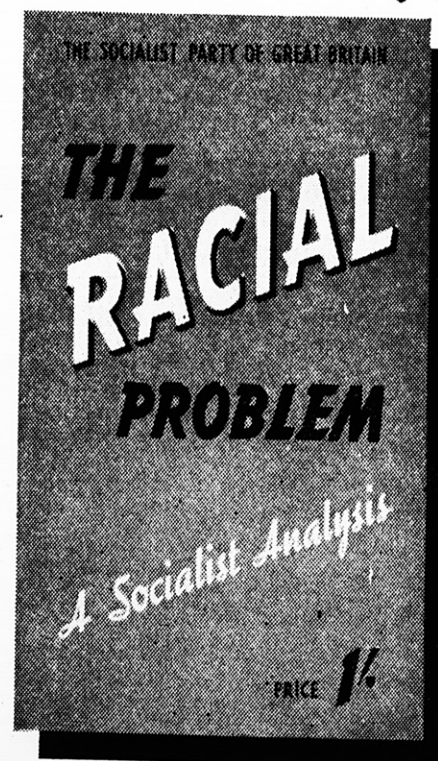
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RUSSIA SINCE 1917

* Collection of articles on Soviet Russia published in the *Socialist Standard* between 1917-1952

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The Passing Show

IF OUR CIVILISATION perishes, as others have perished, and leaves behind very little in the way of written record, any future historian might still get a reasonably clear picture of our society by reading an account of the "towpath murder," as it has come to be called, at Twickenham. He would read how four youths attacked one young man, whom none of them had ever seen before, and against whom they had no personal grudge, in order to rob him of any valuables he might have on him. He would read how when the victim was lying on the ground moaning, one of the assailants (in his own words) "kicked him twice on the head to keep him quiet." The assailant made this statement in evidence, without apparently any admission that such behaviour was much out of the ordinary. The future historian would then read how the victim had died, and how the trial ended with sentences of hanging and imprisonment.

Violence

Anyone from a future era who read this would be horrified, and rightly so. What kind of society was this (he would ask himself) that bred such men? Any one who supports our system of society might well ask himself the same question. For this brutality didn't happen among the Hottentots of Africa; nor did it happen in an enemy country in time of war (if it had done, we should not have lacked people to tell us how terrible the nation must be where such a thing could occur); it happened right here, in this society, in this country in the suburbs of the capital, London. Can we be surprised? In our society the great god is the acquisition of wealth, and a minor god is its ostentatious spending, which assures us of the admiration of our fellows. Violence, which is required by our ruling class when it engages in war, is portrayed and glorified by the press, the cinema, the television. Anyone who refuses to engage in violence when his rulers demand it is shunned by society, sneered at, perhaps imprisoned. Inevitably the more impressionable natures come to look on violence as admirable, especially if it leads to that great end of our morality, the gaining of money. And so we have violent crime. Then society seeks a solution in hanging the individuals responsible. Society thinks it is

hanging its own failures, but that it cannot do. To find a solution, society must re-organise itself on a civilised basis.

Republic

Dr. Verwoerd has won his majority for the creation of a South African Republic. True, he did it by restricting the right to vote to those whose faces were the correct shade of greyish-pink, and barring those whose skins had colours in the range from light brown to black. Even then he had to ensure his success by counting in the votes of the greyish-pink minority who live in South-West Africa (which is not part of the Union of South Africa at all). Nevertheless, he won. The landowning class, which has always been opposed to the connection with the British crown, has triumphed; and the capitalist class of South Africa has lost. How long will the South African capitalists endure this? Wherever they look in the world today, they see the capitalists ruling supreme. Everywhere they see the workers voting for the one capitalist party (in totalitarian states) or for one of two or more capitalist parties (in democratic states). Because of the race fears carefully fostered by the South African landowners, many South African workers must have given their votes to the landowners instead of to the capitalists. How greedily the capitalists must cast their eyes on the nine million voteless inhabitants of the Union! Surely, the capitalists reason, if these were enfranchised, most of them would vote for us. It must only be a question of time now before the South African capitalists, their power growing steadily as trade and industry grow, make their bid for political as well as economic power.

Retail Technicians

The Bridlington Chamber of Commerce doesn't like the sound of the words "shop hands" and "shop assistants." It thinks other names should be substituted—"retail technicians," "sales staff," or "counter public relations officers." We don't put so much emphasis on names: we are concerned with realities. As workers, we don't care what we are called. We believe it is time that society was no longer divided into two classes, capitalists and workers (whatever the latter may be named); it is time that we became

simply, and fully, human beings.

Thanks to Him

The People (14/8/60) printed an article about the fraudulent claims which have been made by some advertisers in the United States. It quotes many examples from a book called *The Operators*, by Frank Gibney. The prize one is perhaps an advertisement offering shares in "the world's richest undrilled oil field." It waxed lyrical: "Thanks to Him from Whom all the joyful things of the earth flow forth—a Divine Guidance without which this exceedingly great joy could not now be ours. . . ." This line was a great success, and the money rolled in. The advertisers were a million dollars to the good—before it came out that this particular bit of Divine Guidance had only indicated a barren patch of land in Utah; so the law intervened.

Phoney Claims

No doubt it occurred to *The People* that this and similar advertisements quoted in the article would hardly encourage its readers to put much faith in its own adverts. Which, in turn, wouldn't encourage its advertisers—and newspapers make their profit out of their advertisement revenue. Hence repeated assurances that this kind of thing couldn't happen here:

British newspapers believe in protecting their readers against exploitation. The Advertising Association maintains an advertisement investigation department to ensure that any advertisement which makes phoney claims, exaggerates, tries to frighten you, or is in any way unethical, never reaches print. National newspapers like *The People* investigate every new advertiser thoroughly to make sure that his company is reputable and that his product can do all he claims of it.

Well, there it is in black and white. So all those soap powders and detergents that claim to wash cleaner than all the others, and all the petrols that say they have more power than all the others, and all the cigarettes which insist they are made of better tobacco than all the others—well, they are all correct. No "phoney claims" or "exaggerations" would ever be permitted—*The People* says so. Each manufacturing line is like a race, in which each competitor beats all the others.

Luck on Purchase

In view of *The People's* statements an advertisement appearing in its stable-mate, the *Daily Herald*, is particularly

interesting. It offers a "Lucky Welsh Lady Key Ring" for 2s. 6d. It apparently consists of a simple metal key ring, plus a mascot attached to it. The advert states boldly "Luck on Purchase." Are we expected to believe that the *Daily Herald* has "investigated this advertiser

thoroughly" to make sure that the "product can do all he claims of it"? Or are *The People's* sweeping statements merely to make sure advertisers aren't discouraged from paying for space in its columns?

A. W. E.

Doping horses

ON Monday, August 8th, five men were accused at Newbury of conspiring to administer drugs to racehorses so as to affect their performance and thereby cheat, defraud and give the run-around to owners, bookmakers and punters. Caffeine, it was alleged, was the drug used. Given between thirty and sixty minutes before a race, it was said to have jacked up the horses' nerves, muscles and heart, made it more alert and stimulated it to a win. The timing was vital; given six or more hours before the race the drug slowed down the horse, because by then its depressing reaction had had time to work. The chemist who was said to have supplied the caffeine stated that doping of racehorses had been going on for years; he supplied the stuff in return for racing tips.

Of course, this carve up caused quite a fuss and many remedies were suggested. Some people thought that a Tote monopoly of betting would bring a clean up. Others wanted a list of drugs, as distinct from tonics, which it would be prohibited to administer to horses, the trainers to be held responsible for their animals' conditions. One newspaper showed how deep its love of our dumb friends goes by hoping that, after the clean up has put racing and betting on a sound financial basis, the horses will no more be silent and helpless tools manipulated for sordid and undesirable ends.

Now all this is very touching, as anyone who has lost his lot on the horses will agree. But doping and racketeering are only two of the illegal ways of making money, if the law can be successfully evaded. There are also legal ways. One is to work for it—not very fruitful. Another is to persuade other people to work for you and to exploit them during the course of production. This is respectable. It also produces some very large fortunes.

The set up here is that we workers work for the capitalists. The capitalists pay us our wages and sell what we produce; they also have to buy materials and machinery. When they have done

all this, they have a surplus left over. They have profit. This process continually repeated makes for a fine accumulated sum and it is all fair and square. Not racketeering. Just good, plain exploitation.

When the goods are produced we do not always find ourselves able to obtain them. They are whisked off to warehouses, stores, shops, and so on, and we can only get them out of these places if we have enough money to meet the price which is asked for them. There they lie in plenty, but alas! for sale only. When people try, by hook or by crook, by fiddle or diddle, to amass a lot of money, what they are really doing is trying to get the power to purchase a lot of these articles which make for a happier and more comfortable life.

Where does dope come into this? Why, for generations, the working class have been doped by capitalism's propaganda. Schools, churches, radio, television, newspapers, political parties—they are all in the act. The Labour Party dished out a large dose of nationalisation, which left the workers' situation unchanged. The Communist Party peddle the dope about the so-called Socialist class emancipation in Russia, which is in fact a ruthless capitalist dictatorship. The Tories tell us that we have never had dope so good.

Amongst gamblers, doping is known as "fixing"; if you want to fix a racehorse, give it caffeine. In this sense, capitalists are not fixing workers under the wages system—the whole transaction is fair and above board. Nevertheless, the workers find themselves in a fix by their acceptance of the system. They are perpetually chasing the dream that, if only they can lay hands on a large enough amount of money, they will be able to get all that they need to make life pleasant. It is this bodily occupation and mental illusion that keeps the working class in political ignorance and, consequently, in economic enslavement.

But horses can run without dope and people can live without the artificial incentives of capitalist society. We only

need the understanding that all social wealth would be better produced solely for use—made and used how we like. That is the key to the better world which we call Socialism.

However much horseracing depends upon betting, capitalism is more dependent on the support of the world's working class. When they have stopped

allowing themselves to be exploited, stopped chasing after ephemeral remedies for the many, many unnecessary social problems of capitalism, they will have exposed capitalism's dopers. Socialism will be the surest walk over that ever was.

J. MCG.

The Wind on the Heath

Gypsies are in the news again. Dramatically, because a couple of them have been involved in murder cases and, more prosaically, because of a recent spotlighting of their continual clash with some county by-laws and state regulations. These laws control the rights of vagrants, the permissible period for roadside and common camping, child education, and so on. Some county authorities, in trying to enforce the law, have come under fire from the Gypsies' romantic sympathisers (who are often well enough endowed with worldly goods not to live in a caravan, nor sell clothes pegs for a living).

What is the background to this controversy? Where did these strange folk come from; what is their history? The safest theory is that they stem from the Doms, ancient outcast tribes in India who were musicians, dancers and metal workers. Some Persian monarch, it is recorded, transplanted such a group to the Tigris Valley and North Syria. In 855 A.D. the Byzantines moved them to the Balkans. All the while, they continued their old crafts of metal working, making music and dancing. Records from Greece and Rumania show them, in the 1340's, as serfs and personal slaves of the land-owning Boyars—which they continued to be, in Rumania, right up to 1850. The Turkish invasion of the Balkans caused a widespread emigration and some Gypsy bands, in the 1440's, were caught up in this, moving to Central and Northern Europe.

They seemed to have been under the protection of the Holy Roman Emperor and the Church. Some evidence indicates that a Papal order required them to do penance for embracing the Moslem

faith whilst they were living under Turkish rule. It is all rather uncertain. Some authorities have them in Europe far earlier, descendants of the wandering metal workers and tinkers, standing apart from the tribes. Here, in fact, is the origin of the "Wayland Smith" legends.

The Gypsy custom of stealing and telling fortunes caused some townfolk to doubt the sincerity of their penance and the story, like their welcome, were rather thin. All manner of harsh laws were enacted against them. In 1500 the Imperial State annulled the safe conduct which the Princes had issued to Gypsies. Italian states banished them. Some German states ordered all male Gypsies to be shot. Henry VIII forbade separate Gypsy courts and Elizabeth I for a time banished them under pain of death. The Commonwealth executed some simply because they were Gypsies; on the continent they lived in constant fear during the witchcraft manias. Strangely, the Inquisition gave them protection from these. Spain became very popular with the Romanies and many of them moved in, eventually to embrace Spanish names and manners.

The Gypsies were allowed to have their own courts, and to live under their own customs, because they were regarded as a separate race or nation. This was finished in the upheaval caused by the break-up of feudalism in Europe. Peasants were being thrown off the land, merchants were fighting the old feudal lords, aspiring ruling classes tussled with the Roman Church for its land and wealth. Dreadful wars laid Germany waste. Religious intolerance and bigotry with weird maniacal theories tore open

the ideas of the Middle Ages. Serfs, landless peasants and unwanted soldiers took to the roads, trying to escape their states' harsh laws and treatment by joining Gypsy bands. Thus, the Gypsies became connected, in people's minds, with criminals and outlaws and the word Gypsy became a synonym for ruffian and ne'er-do-well. England, France and Spain deported many Gypsies to the Americas; when Australia was discovered, many were shipped there. Such is the tenacity of the Gypsies that they stuck to their old ways in these distant lands—and many still continue to do so.

The Gypsies have shown no desire to uncover their origin. They have, in fact, been content to be known in Europe as Egyptians; their headmen were referred to as "Counts of Little Egypt." They were traced to India through originally, the work of an Hungarian named Valyi, who in 1763 noticed a similarity between the language of some Malabar Hindu friends and that of the Hungarian Gypsies. This started a more scientific study of the Romany language, which is now placed as stemming from Aryan, although so far nobody has been able to find the particular area from which such a dialect could have evolved directly.

Although some Gypsy customs have been modified by the areas in which they live, others have remained more or less constant. One of these is the matrilineal nature of their clans, which lays it down that men can only join a clan by marrying into it (although this custom is reversed in the case of the headmen). Property seems to be inherited by the men, although women can and do inherit it. The moral customs of a clan are decreed by the Tribal Mother. The Headman is—or was—elected to his position. The title of Gypsy King and Queen is in fact a misnomer conferred upon them by outsiders which the Gypsies, being sharp, have used to some advantage. The clans, when they reach any considerable size, tend to break up into new groups; it is doubtful if they still exist in the older form in developed countries such as Great Britain.

In spite of everything the Gypsies have clung to their existence to this day. Sometimes—especially in the Balkans and the Middle East—they have existed by doing work that was frowned upon by others; work like latrine cleaning and public hangings. In Spain they provided the bulk of the tobacco factory workers—which must upset a lot of romantic concepts about them. In Spain, also, they have achieved fame by their dancing

skills. The industrialisation of Northern Europe has given them the somewhat higher standards of furnished caravans—higher only when compared to their brothers' tattered tents. Their speciality—and in Hungary some built up fortunes by it—was horse dealing.

But one by one, the doors have been closing against the Gypsies. The horse is fast disappearing as a beast of burden. Mass produced metal and plastic ware is helping to kill the craft of tinkering. A trained mechanic, not a lore-stuffed Gypsy, is needed to repair a combine harvester. Hertfordshire, for example, as a county which accommodates lots of workers in well laid out, expensive dormitory suburbs and estates, is not very keen on having the roads and commons littered with old tins and burst mattresses left there, to boot, by non rate-paying Gypsies. This county, with its agriculture mainly consisting of market gardens, dairy farms and corn crops, worked by modern mechanisation, has little need for floating, seasonable labour. In contrast, Kent is famous for its hop fields and fruit farms. Even today, these need extra casual labour in season, especially for hop stringing and twining, in which Gypsies play no small part. Kent is trying to establish permanent camp sites for the Romanies—and is regarded, therefore, as a humane county by the starry-eyed Gypsy addicts. Even so, things are changing in the hop fields. New hop picking machines leave only one-third of the crop to be picked by hand. Hop-pickers have seen their numbers reduced over the last 20-odd years from 100,000 to 22,000.

It seems, then, that the days of the wandering Gypsies have not long to run. No tears for that: because they live a life on the move in caravans: it does not follow that theirs is an idyllic existence. They have to find some sort of work in order to live; in spite of their reputation as thieves, it is certain that the proceeds of stealing would not last them for long. And anybody who has picked fruit on piece rates will know that it is no more romantic or idyllic than work on a factory bench. Groups which try to exist by just plain begging rapidly degenerate into whining outcasts, devoid of human dignity. Many people wonder why anyone, even a tiny minority, should try to stand outside the world of hire purchase, mortgages, television and social hygiene.

For centuries, Gypsies have tried to hold themselves aloof. But as it has done with so many others, capitalism is about to catch up with them.

JACK LAW.

The Socialist Case

Part 2

THE SUPERSTRUCTURE OF SOCIETY today, after many years of development, has reached a high stage of efficiency. It is the direct outcome of the economic foundation of society, the capitalist mode of production, and functions almost exclusively in its interests. This does not appear to be self-evident unless one examines the basic factors of the organisation of society.

We are constantly being told that our "great and good" men are earnestly striving to bring about changes in which all will benefit considerably. Social morality, legality in its civil and criminal aspects, and politics, are features of this superstructure and are held to be eternally good and true. The machinery of government, the armed forces and police are allegedly neutral and impartial and are claimed to regulate the affairs of society on the highest principles of "justice."

We Socialists do not accept that point of view. We see in this whole structure the capitalist class organised as the ruling class. This state machinery with its attachments does not stand on the sidelines. The maintaining of law and order, the advocacy of this morality, the dispensing of "justice," and the politics pursued, are all definitely capitalistic in character and are intended to enhance, preserve and maintain the system in the interests of the class who own. The channels of education are controlled and the class of education is designed to maintain the fallacy that this is the best of all possible forms of social organisation. Add to this the general propaganda of the press, radio and pulpit and we have a formidable array. This deception has been carried on for a long, long time, but Socialists are not taken in by it.

Furthermore, a constantly growing and larger number of people are also realising the truth that social systems must also change. The so-called virtues, in workers only, of meekness, humility and servility, are receding to a greater extent. The surface appearance of capitalist society seems to indicate that the commercial transactions of men are, in all cases, strictly honest. No one apparently takes advantage of another. People go to their bakers, butchers, tailors, etc., select their merchandise, pay and depart, each in most cases pleased

with the transaction. Money, which is the universal or social form of value, is paid in exchange for an equal quantity value in some commodity. It appears that in all cases everyone has had a fair exchange and generally speaking this is true. The error arises in the claim that the worker who sells his labour power gets the full value of his labour. To repeat—he does not and cannot get the value of his labour. Labour power is a unique commodity, the sole commodity which can produce more than it itself consumes. The worker in fact gets the value of this labour power, but produces probably twice that amount, one-half of which total is profit to the capitalist.

Profit is the keystone of capitalism. The capitalist mode of production, commodity production, creates the basic social relationships of capital and value. These relationships arise directly out of man's productive circumstances. They are social phenomena particular to the present mode of productive activity. In the industrial field the capitalist—an owner, but non-producer—meets the worker, a non-owner who has only his labour power to sell. Here the sale of labour power takes place. The worker, having received his wages, becomes a buyer of the goods required, but which are owned by and in possession of the capitalist. This cycle keeps on repeating itself and is exclusive to commodity production.

Buying and selling, or, in other words, value relationships, are social relationships concerning the sale or exchange of commodities or things. Money is the social, or material form of value and, whatever the need may be, this need is almost certain to be provided for cash. This capital relationship—employer and employee, and value relationship—buyer and seller, are specially evolved to wring rent, profit and interest out of the sweat and toil of the working-class. From our Socialist point of view they can never do anything else and should be abolished forthwith. The State machinery with its armed forces and police functions mainly to protect the private property institution and secure its continuity.

Man has travelled a long, long way since his simian ancestors, but there is one aspect which it is relevant and important to mention. It has taken him

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countless thousands of years to learn and train his brain to think. But he has succeeded and the highest product of nature, the mind, has been developed from his lowly and comparatively speaking, non-thinking ancestors. In this regard man stands unique in the field of intellectual attainment. He alone among all the animals is capable of thinking abstractly. A fundamental distinction is his ability to accumulate and organise knowledge and utilise it to change and improve his living conditions and his environments.

This basic distinction has created an unbridgeable gulf between him and the other animals. The problems arising from the material conditions of his life in the past were eventually understood and solved. We are certain that he is capable of understanding and eventually solving the social and other problems of the present and future. Because of this we are firmly convinced that a majority of the working-class will eventually consciously deal with the social re-organisation of society.

The social solution is in itself very simple. Much of our time is devoted to argument arising expressly from the complexities of aspects of capitalism we have already mentioned—money, banking, etc. The major question is—can mankind produce sufficient food, clothing, houses, cultural and recreational requirements to meet its needs? The answer is "Yes"—positively an abundance. Society's capacity to produce is limited only by the extent of the productive equipment, raw materials and available labour. At today's stage of development it is more than sufficient. Once freed from the restrictions of private property, society can solve its problems in an amazingly short time. When this structure of private property is removed there is nothing to prevent the available productive machinery from being used to the fullest extent for the sole purpose of satisfying human needs.

The overwhelming majority of each generation are doomed from birth. They are condemned to a life of hard work, drudgery, poverty and slums. At any given period in the life of society only a definite amount of unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled jobs are available. In this

great industrial organisation this number may vary slightly from time to time. But it does mean that approximately 85 per cent. of the total population are unable to radically improve their lot. The grandiose schemes and plans of youthful ambition are doomed from birth. In addition, at the moment we stand in constant fear of the outbreak of a third World War with its devastating atomic weapons. The future is indeed, "prosperous, happy and bright."

The abolition of capitalism is therefore, a proposal which merits your determined and serious immediate attention. The re-organisation of society on a Socialist basis is the only solution and, as the S.P.G.B. is the only Socialist Party, it demands your active support in our task of abolishing capitalism. This task of abolishing capitalism is the historic mission of the working class. It requires the conscious and determined action of a majority of workers and for practical purposes is their exclusive job. Capitalism presents the best of all worlds to the ruling class and their hirelings. They are not therefore likely to approve or assist in effecting any social change which involves its abolition.

In order to transform existing society into a Socialist society, the working class must organise themselves politically on the basis of a majority who understand and desire to bring about Socialism. When they reach this stage of social consciousness they, the workers, will establish their political supremacy, take control of the machinery of government and effect the social re-organisation of society. To develop this class-consciousness is the immediate job of the S.P.G.B. Our propaganda activities in this direction are very limited both physically and financially.

If you believe that a system of society wherein human need and not profit should be the object of production; that the economic and social equality of man should prevail; and that from each according to his ability and to each according to needs should be a first principle; then let's have your support. The measure of your sincerity and determination is your physical and financial aid to us.

J. H.

[CONCLUDED]

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY

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Redistribution of Wealth

SINCE the war ended the myth has arisen, carefully fostered and well-nourished by every hack of Fleet Street and apologist of capitalism, that the rich are no longer as rich as they once were, that heavy taxes are mulcting the poor blighters white and that there is in fact taking place a general redistribution of wealth resulting in greater economic equality. Never an opportunity has been lost to bring to our notice that this film star or that author or the other well-to-do man were being bled to death by taxes and what was left would in any case be drained away by death duties.

So persistently have these notions been nurtured that many workers have actually come to believe them, presumably on the *Mein Kampf* principle that if you tell a lie often enough it will eventually be accepted as the truth. To those who do so, and still more to those who believe vaguely that some sort of more equitable distribution of wealth is taking place, we draw attention to some remarks and observations recently made in a British Association lecture by J. R. S. Revell, Dept. of Applied Economics, Cambridge University. Dealing with the extent to which wealth had become more equally distributed during the first 50 years, he said:

... that the figures conventionally quoted greatly overestimated the extent of the redistribution.

Those figures showed that the wealthiest 1 per cent. of the adult population of England and Wales owned nearly 70 per cent. of the total personal wealth in 1911, and that by 1954 the wealthiest 1 per cent. owned around 43 per cent. The figures were based on estimates of personal capital, which used statistics of estates paying death duties as a random sample of the wealth of the living population. They were deficient in several respects and the deficiencies had tended to increase in recent years. That meant that their use would overstate the redistribution of wealth.

Apparently one of the important of these statistical deficiencies, of "growing importance," as Mr. Revell tells us:

... consisted of creating settled property in a particular form known as a discretionary trust. Under that form of property the trustees had the discretion to pay income to any of a specified class of persons and to distribute the capital when they thought fit. When the person

who had been receiving the income died, the trustees merely nominated another person from the specified class, and there was no passing of capital which could attract death duties.

Certainly these capitalists are not going to allow themselves to be impoverished without a fight!

The effect of this and other tax-evading subterfuges is:

... that a large slice of the capital from which individual persons—particularly wealthy persons—drew income did not figure at all in an estimate of personal capital derived from death duty figures. It was almost impossible to obtain any statistical evidence on the amount of property which thus avoided death duties, "but it is likely to be large enough to upset any estimates of personal capital."

Earlier in his lecture Mr. Revell pointed out that, conversely, small incomes were grossly overvalued:

... because insurance policies represented such a large proportion of the value of small estates; they were valued for death duty purposes at the sum paid out on death, whereas the greatest value which could be put on them in the hands of a live person would be the surrender value. Thus "poorer persons, in short, are worth more dead than alive."

Mr. Revell concludes:

Small estates were thus overvalued and large estates were undervalued in the death duty statistics. Since life assurance and tax avoidance had both grown greatly in recent years, the conventional figures for the distribution of personal capital gave an impression that the redistribution of wealth had gone much farther than it really had. There was no means with present statistical knowledge of estimating what the correct figures should be.

Whatever the truth of Mr. Revell's last remark, there is one incontrovertible fact arising from all this. It is that in 1954 1 per cent. only of the population owned more, probably much more, than 43 per cent. of the total personal wealth in England and Wales.

Ponder a while on this simple fact and it will give quite a close idea of the nature of wealth distribution in our present-day capitalist society.

M. JUDD.

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see page 176 for details

Notes on Economic History (1)

Economics before Mercantilism

THE OBJECT of these notes is to provide a general introductory guide for those who would like to know more about the subject of Political Economy. They cover the period from early times to Marx and set out the main developments and theories that arose during that time, using as a key the Materialist Conception of History.

Engels in his preface to the 1888 edition of the *Communist Manifesto* says: "The 'manifesto' being our joint production, I consider myself bound to state that the fundamental proposition which forms its nucleus belongs to Marx. That proposition is: that in every historical epoch the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organisation necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained, the political and intellectual history of that epoch."

That proposition is, in short, the Materialist Conception of History.

By the term economics is meant throughout these notes the study of the production and distribution of wealth. Such a study must take into consideration historical, geographical and many other factors, always bearing in mind that behind the abstractions are real people, who combine, deliberately or otherwise, to produce and distribute wealth.

Neither in classical antiquity, nor yet in the Middle Ages, did there arise any finished systems of economic thought. In those epochs, when men's thoughts were concerned with the heroic and supernatural, the economics of life was regarded as of little importance. Only when, as today, life is dominated by the forces of competition and struggle, is civilised life dominated by economic considerations to the extent we know it today. Even in those earlier ages, however, economic thought such as it was showed signs that it had arisen out of earlier forms of society, and developed and evolved with these societies.

It is an error to picture the course of economic development as though mankind has passed simply from a primitive form of society to a slave-owning form, then to a Feudal one, and finally to a Capitalist economy. At all times there have been lesser economic groups that formed integral parts of the larger, nation-wide or world-wide complexes.

During the primitive period of man, in

the Stone Age, the exchange of things went on, and there are proofs of the existence of some form of primitive trading as far back as the Bronze Age, since the constituents of bronze (tin and copper) are not generally found together. At the beginning of historical times, in Babylon, Persia, Carthage, Egypt, Greece and Rome, there was a well-developed form of trade, with industry carried on for export, together with monetary systems and credit.

The beginnings of economic science itself go back to Plato and Aristotle. Plato (347 B.C.) and Aristotle (322 B.C.) made some contributions to economic science, but as far as economics is concerned, mention need only be made of Aristotle's remarks on money, interest and taxation. Aristotle saw the essential nature of money as this: "That it is an intermediary in the exchange of utilities, thus acting as a medium of exchange." To him, however, it is sterile; "it brings forth no children." It cannot of itself produce any goods; therefore interest is wicked. This teaching was to have a great influence in the later Feudal period.

The economic thought of the Middle Ages was dominated by the teachings of Thomas Aquinas (1274), who derived from Aristotle and the Roman civil and canon law the concept of a "just price." Aquinas held that there were two kinds of justice:

1. Distributive justice.
2. Compensatory justice, or the justice of exchange.

In the matter of price, justice is found in the equality of mutual benefit in an exchange. What determines income is not the supply and demand of labour, but a normal outlook, the customary and average mutual adjustments between the individuals who exercise economic functions. To quote Aquinas, "Wherever a good is to be found, its essence is due measure." Thus we get the idea of income that is "suitable" or "proper" to a man's position in society. Interest on money, or usury, is frowned upon. "Money is a medium of exchange, its use is in its consumption." Consequently, for the use of borrowed money it is wrong, or at least improper, to expect anything beyond simple repayment. Aquinas does make exception in the case of tenancy, hire, and credit for goods supplied. In later years, missed opportunities for gain, and loss incurred by

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or injury to the lender, became good grounds for demanding interest.

The prohibition of interest or usury is basically designed for an economy based on land as property, that is Feudal society, which endeavoured to keep money, and those ideas that flow from an economy based on money, under control.

Economic ideas, and the practical

application of them, show a gradual growth and conflict as the old Feudal society begins to decline. The developments which economic science made after this period are bound up with the growth of towns and the increasing power of the traders. The early stage of these developments is generally known as the Mercantile period and this will be dealt with in our next issue.

R. A.

On a Socialists Bookshelf

The Philanthropists

THE RAGGED-TROUSERED PHILANTHROPISTS, by Robert Tressall; edited text published by Grant Richards in 1914. Complete text published by Laurence & Wishart in 1951.

THIS NOVEL may come to be recognised as one of the masterpieces of this century. A novel, after all, is a piece of fiction which tells us something of life and of society. Hazlitt said about the novel: "We find here a close imitation of man and manners; we see the very web and texture of society as it really exists, and as we meet it when we come into the world." And Sir Desmond MacCarthy wrote: "It is extremely doubtful whether the aim of the novel is to make an aesthetic appeal. Passages in it may do so; but it aims also at satisfying our curiosity about life as much as satisfying the aesthetic sense." If these are the criteria by which we are to judge novels, then *The Ragged-Trousered Philanthropists* must stand very high indeed. It tells us more about "society as it really exists," and about human beings and their relations with each other—"man and manners"—than you would find in many well-stocked libraries.

For the great central relationship in our society is that between employer and worker: by it, to a greater or less degree, almost all the other relationships in society are affected. And that is Tressall's theme. In a sparse, direct style (all the more remarkable when one remembers the level of popular writing in the pre-Great-War era out of which this book came) Tressall tells the story of a group of men, painters and labourers, who are re-decorating a house. He follows several of them (in particular the central figure, Frank Owen) to their homes, and shows how they live. Partly through the arguments among the men at work, partly through their experiences in their daily

lives, Tressall lays bare the real nature of society.

One can only marvel how apposite (despite changes in inessentials) the book's picture of society is today. You may get the flavour of the book from a random quotation:

"But money in itself is not wealth," returned Owen:—"it's of no use whatever."

At this there was another outburst of jeering laughter.

"Supposing, for example, that you and Harlow were shipwrecked on a desolate island, and you had saved nothing from the wreck but a bag containing a thousand sovereigns, and he had a tin of biscuits and a bottle of water."

"Make it beer!" cried Harlow appealingly.

"Who would be the richer man, you or Harlow?"

"But then you see we ain't shipwrecked on no dissolute island at all," sneered Crass. "That's the worse of your arguments. You can't never get very far without supposing some bloody ridiculous thing or other. Never mind about supposing things wot ain't true: let's 'ave facts and common sense."

"Ear, 'ear," said old Linden, "that's wot we want—a little common sense."

"What do you mean by poverty, then?" asked Easton.

"What I call poverty is when people are not able to secure for themselves all the benefits of civilisation—the necessities, comforts, pleasures and refinements of life: leisure, books, theatres, pictures, music, holidays, travel, good and beautiful homes, good clothes, good and pleasant food. . . . If a man is only able to provide himself and his family with the bare necessities of existence, that man's family is living in poverty. Since he cannot enjoy the advantages of civilisation he might just as well be a savage; better, in fact, for a savage does not know what he is deprived of. . . ."

But one would have to quote the whole book to do it justice. It makes you laugh, it saddens you, but most of all it makes you angry. It is impossible not to be deeply moved by it. If you have read it already, you will not need to be told how good it is. If you haven't, then buy or borrow a copy as soon as possible.

A. W. E.

Party News

50 years ago



THE FUNCTION OF TRADE UNIONS

Now the trade union is primarily organised to protect and fortify the workers of a trade section, or of a group of more or less allied trades. Its methods are economic, not political; the cessation of, or threat to cease, production and distribution, the strike, direct pressure upon or resistance to the employers, are its weapons—their effectiveness is not in question here. The members join for trade purposes—for the regulation of the hours and conditions of employment—for the friendly society features—and a very large number because it is a trade condition: membership is compulsory. But membership for political action is certainly not the rule, even if it ever occurs; and it is clear that the unions could never have arisen had the contrary been the case. The only unity in trade union ranks is and has been on the economic plane. What economic interests have joined together politics tear asunder—for the simple reason that all shades of political opinion meet in the economic organisation.

SOCIALIST STANDARD, November, 1910.

NORTH WEST KENT DISCUSSION GROUP

Will any readers in the Bexleyheath, Crayford, Dartford, Erith, Gravesend and Welling areas of North West Kent interested in the formation of a discussion group, communicate with H. J. Wilson, 7 Cyril Road, Bexleyheath Kent (phone Bexleyheath 1950).

Also any readers in the Sidcup, Mottingham, Orpington, Eltham, Chislehurst areas communicate with W. G. Catt, 32, Ickleton Road, S.E.9 (Kipling 1796).

DELEGATE MEETING

On October 1st and 2nd the Delegate Meeting was held at Head Office. Most Party Branches were represented and the Agenda was completed. Amongst the items discussed were Electoral Activity, increasing the sales of the SOCIALIST STANDARD, the condition of the Branches, and ways and means of intensifying Socialist activity. On the Sunday evening Peter Bryant of the Socialist Party of Australia gave an interesting and stimulating lecture on "Welfare Capitalism."

SCARBOROUGH

A member of Paddington Branch went up to Scarborough for the Labour Party Conference and was fairly successful in selling the SOCIALIST STANDARD and Party pamphlets to the delegates. In addition a large number of important back numbers of the SOCIALIST STANDARD were distributed. The Comrade reports that he was among forty other literature sellers (representing all kinds of organisations) competing for sales outside the Conference Hall, and found himself involved in countless discussions with delegates. This kind of activity is very much worthwhile and all future Conferences of our opponents should be covered in this way.

EALING

All members and sympathisers in the Ealing area please note the series of lectures organised by the local branch on alternate Fridays. Comrade Hardy is speaking on "Industry and Wages" on November 11th, and on November 25th he will be commenting on the film "Can we be Rich?" The first lecture of the Branch's Winter season was given last month by P. Smith on the "Levelles."

HEAD OFFICE FILMS

Readers will see from the advertisement on page 176 that the Winter series of Sunday night Film Lectures commences on November 13th. An interesting range of titles have been chosen to continue weekly throughout the Winter months. The atmosphere at these meetings is friendly and the meeting room warm and comfortable.

P. H.

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Meetings

FILMS AT HEAD OFFICE.

52, Clapham High Street, S.W.4.
Sundays, 7.30 p.m.

November 13th.
"AUTOMATION."
Speaker: P. Bryant.

November 20th.
"LIVE AND LEARN."

November 27th.
"ALL IN OUR POWER."
Speaker: R. Ambridge.

December 4th.
"OVER THE HILL."
Speaker: H. Baldwin.

EALING LECTURES.

Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, near Ealing
Broadway, 8 p.m.

Friday, 11th November.
"INDUSTRY AND WAGES."
Speaker: E. Hardy.

Friday, 25th November.
FILM: "CAN WE BE RICH?"
Speaker: E. Hardy.

HACKNEY LECTURE.

Wednesday, 9th November, 8 p.m.
Room 3, Bethnal Green Town Hall.
"THE FAILURE OF UNO."
Speaker: C. Michael.

EARLS COURT.

The Troubadour, 265, Old Brompton Road,
S.W.5, Tuesday, 1st November, 8 p.m.
FILM: "COME BACK AFRICA."
Speaker: E. Grant.

ISLINGTON DISCUSSION.

Co-op. Hall, 129, Seven Sisters Road, N.7.
Friday, 25th November, 8 p.m.

Mr. Stankovitch will address the Branch on
"JUGOSLAVIA."

(Please note: These are provisional arrangements—those wishing to attend please contact the Branch Secretary two weeks beforehand, so that room can be made for all those wishing to attend.)

GLASGOW MEETINGS

Room 2, Door G, St. Andrews Halls,
Berkeley Street.

Sunday 6th November 7.30 p.m.
"WORLD POLITICS AND UNO."
Speaker: J. Higgins.

Sunday 13th November 7.30 p.m.
"FUTILITY OF NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT."
Speaker: R. Donnelly.

Sunday 20th November 7.30 p.m.
"RISE AND FALL OF THE LABOUR PARTY."
Speaker: T. A. Mulheron.

Sunday 27th November 7.30 p.m.
"WHO NEVER HAD IT SO GOOD?"
Speaker: R. Russell and D. Donaldson.

News from Canada

The recently formed Vancouver and Victoria Branches of the Socialist Party of Canada are making progress and have been very active in the Provincial Election. Although they have not yet reached the state when they can put forward candidates, they have held meetings, advertised the Party and



their literature admirably and gained a considerable amount of publicity.

We have received cuttings from Victoria newspapers from a member there which tell of their activities. One cutting from the *Victoria Daily Times* (20/8/60) states: "Wherever there is a CCF meeting you will find a representative of the Socialist Party of Canada." It goes on to say: "They stand outside offering leaflets telling the public not to 'confuse' the CCF with Socialism." The CCF is comparable to the Labour Party here. Another issue of the same paper (Aug. 25th) had this comment:

Leaflets urging voters to spoil their ballots on election day were being distributed outside HMC Dockyard today.

Dockyard worker John Rouan said the leaflets were signed by the Socialist Party of Canada.

They stated that, as the Party could not afford to run a candidate, voters should register their opposition to Capitalism by writing across their ballots the words:

"Socialism—Production for Use."

WEMBLEY LECTURES.

A series of Historical Lectures.
Wembley Branch, Barham Old Court,
Barham Park, Harrow Road, Wembley.

Monday, 14th November, 8 p.m.
"THE SAXON INVASION."
Speaker: J. Law.

Monday, 28th November, 8 p.m.
"SAXON SOCIETY & CULTURE."
Speaker: J. Law.

The Victoria members have been trying to obtain an open-air speaking spot in a park there. So far their application to the local council has met with refusal. London members will find something familiar in the following quote from the *Victoria Daily Times* (31/8/60):

A Socialist Party of Canada request for permission to have its representatives make speeches in Beacon Hill Park on

Sunday afternoons during summer months was rejected. Committee members said it was against city council policy to permit a "Hyde Park" speakers corner developing here.

The *Daily Colonist* (1/9/60) had a large type heading across the top of one page: "The Socialist Won't Get Their Little Hyde Park."

There are two further quotations on the same subject which members may find interesting:

Why should it be against City Council policy to permit a "Hyde Park Speakers' Corner" to develop at Beacon Hill passeth understanding.

A "Speakers Corner" is something that could add to the attraction of what is already a magnet of local and tourist interest. Members of the small Socialist Party of Canada who requested the institution here demonstrated at a recent election meeting how effective they can be in living up an occasion. (*Victoria Daily Times*, 3/9/60.)

Isn't the City parks committee being just a little bit stuffy in its refusal to allow a corner of Beacon Hill Park to be used for soap-box oratory on fine Sundays? Is it because the request came from the Socialist Party of Canada? If so, it is hard to see what great harm they could do. (*The Daily Colonist*, 3/9/60.)

The Victoria members are certainly digging their toes in. It is heartening to hear of the good work they are doing, far away on the other side of the American continent.

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6^D DECEMBER 1960

SOCIALIST STANDARD

AMERICAN BALLYHOO



KENNEDY TO RUN U.S. CAPITALISM

**Death of a Daily
Money from Armaments
Organisation Man
The Mercantile System
Hidden Persuaders**

**JOURNAL OF THE
SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN**

Branches

Visitors are cordially invited to every meeting.

BASILDON Thursdays 7.30 pm, Craylands County Secondary School, Basildon. Correspondence: R. H. Bowie, Cranford, Basil Drive, Laindon, Essex.

BIRMINGHAM Thursdays 8 pm, "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. (Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month.) Correspondence: H. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road, Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.

BLOOMSBURY 1st and 3rd Thursdays (1st & 15th December) in month 7.30 pm, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, WC1.

BRADFORD & DISTRICT Correspondence: Peter Hall, 10 Spring Grove Terrace, Leeds 6. Tel: Bradford 71904 any time.

CAMBERWELL Mondays 8 pm, 52 Clapham High Street, SW4. Correspondence: H. Baldwin, 334 South Lambeth Road, Stockwell, SW8.

DARTFORD 1st and 3rd Fridays in month 8 pm, 2nd December at 7 Cyril Road, Bexleyheath (Tel: BEX 1950) and 16th December at 32 Ickleton Road, Mottingham, SE9 (Tel: KIP 1796). Correspondence: W. G. Catt at above latter address.

EALING Fridays 8 pm, Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, near Ealing Broadway. Correspondence: M. Evers, 64 Pennard Road, W12.

ECCLES 2nd Monday (12th December) in month 7.30 pm, 5 Gaskell Road, Eccles. Correspondence: F. Lea at above address.

FULHAM & CHELSEA 1st and 3rd Thursdays in month (1st Dec: discussion, 15th Dec: business) 8 pm, "Kings Head," 4 Fulham High Street, Putney Bridge, SW6. Correspondence: L. Cox, 13 Shelley House, Churchill Gdns. SW1. Tel: VIC 0427.

GLASGOW (City) Alternate Wednesdays (7th & 21st December) 8 pm, Religious Institute Rooms, 200 Buchanan Street, C1. Correspondence: T. A. Mulheron, 366 Aikenhead Road, Glasgow, S2.

GLASGOW (Kelvingrove) Alternate Mondays (5th & 19th December) 8 pm, Partick Burgh Halls, Partick. Correspondence: R. Donnelly, 50 Doncaster Street, Glasgow, NW.

HACKNEY Wednesdays 7.30 pm, Bethnal Green Town Hall (Room 3, Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: S. Beck, 28 Petherton Road, N5.

ISLINGTON Thursdays 8 pm, Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N7. (Lecture or discussion after business.) Correspondence: C. Skelton, SPGB, c/o above address.

KINGSTON upon THAMES Correspondence: SPGB, 80 Farm Road, Esher, Surrey

LEWISHAM Mondays 8 pm, Co-op Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushy Green, Catford, SE6. Correspondence: P. Hart, 22 Gt. Elms Road, Bromley, Kent. Tel: RAV 7811.

NOTTINGHAM Alternate Wednesdays (7th & 21st December) 7.30 pm, Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street. Correspondence: R. Powe, 8 Swains Avenue, Carlton Road.

PADDINGTON Wednesdays 8.30 pm, "The Olive Branch," Crawford Street, W1 (corner Homer St, near Marylebone Rd). Correspondence: SPGB, 76 Ladbroke Grove, W11.

SOUTHEND 1st and 3rd Tuesdays in month 7.30 pm, 6th December at 19 Kingswood Chase, Leigh-on-Sea and 20th December at 17 Cotswold Road, Westcliff-on-Sea. Correspondence: Dick Jacobs at above latter address.

SWANSEA 2nd and 4th Fridays (9th & 23rd December) in month 8 pm, The Crypt, St. Pauls. Correspondence: F. J. Scrine, 10 Beach Street, Swansea.

WEMBLEY Mondays 8 pm, Barham Old Court, Barham Park, near Sudbury Town Station, Wembley. Correspondence: R. G. Cain, 48 Balfour Road, W13.

WEST HAM 2nd and 4th Thursdays (8th & 22nd December) in month 8 pm, Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E12. (Discussions from 9 pm.) Correspondence: D. Deutz, 80 Bawdsey Avenue, Ilford, Essex.

WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY Fridays 7.30 pm, 146 Inderwick Road, Hornsey, N8 (41 bus to Tottenham Lane, nr. "Hope & Anchor"). Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

WOOLWICH 2nd and 4th Fridays (9th & 23rd December) in month 7.30 pm, Town Social Club, Mason's Hill, SE18. (Discussions at 8 pm.) Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens, Eltham, SE9.

Groups

BRISTOL Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Blackfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2. Tel: 24680.

CHELTEMHAM Enquiries: Ken Smith, 338 Swindon Road.

COVENTRY Enquiries: P. Boylan, 71 Ford Street.

DORKING & DISTRICT Enquiries: O. C. Iles, "Ashleigh," Townfield Road, Dorking.

MANCHESTER Enquiries: J. M. Breakey, 2 Dennison Avenue, Manchester 20. Tel: DID 5709.

MITCHAM & DISTRICT Tuesday 20th December 8 pm, "White Hart," Mitcham Cricket Green. Enquiries: T. Lord, 288 Church Road, Mitcham.

NEWPORT & DISTRICT Meeting at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport. (Details advertised in South Wales Argus.) Enquiries: M. Harris, 26 Oakfield Road, Lightwood, Cwmbran nr. Newport, Mon.

OLDHAM Wednesdays 7.30 pm, 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees at above address. Tel: MAI 5165.

REDHILL Enquiries: A. A. Kemp, 19 Ashcombe Road, Mersham, Redhill, Surrey.

SUSSEX Enquiries: W. Craske, "Hazelcroft," Green Road, Wivelsfield Green, Sussex.

Head Office

The Socialist Party of Great Britain need a Head Office in Central London comprising a large room, suitable for Executive Committee and other meetings; plus a number of other rooms, for literature distribution, sub-committee meetings, etc. The location must be within reasonable walking distance of an Underground station, in the Kings Cross, Euston, or Camden Town areas; or could be a little further North, or further West. The market for business properties is very lively nowadays, and our approaches to agents have not led to any success. Therefore we ask readers who may be able to help, to send their suggestions to: The New Premises Committee, 52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4.

Socialist Party

OF GREAT BRITAIN

OBJECT

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

1] That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

2] That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

3] That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

4] That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

5] That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

6] That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

7] That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

8] The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.



SOCIALIST STANDARD

JOURNAL OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

DECEMBER 1960 NO 676 VOL 56

KENNEDY TO RUN U.S. CAPITALISM

MR. KENNEDY'S VICTORY at the American polls came as the culmination of years of patient ambition and at the end of a campaign of open cynicism, such as we have come to expect from capitalist political parties.

When he started his attempt to win the Democratic nomination, Mr. Kennedy had several question marks against him. The principal of these was whether he could unite the trade unions, the industrial cities and the backward Southerners into supporting him. We now know how skilfully he did this, by the careful choice of his Vice-Presidential candidate and by the promises and opinions which he uttered. Such was the success of these tactics that, long before election day, many on-the-spot correspondents were prophesying that Kennedy's campaign would be irresistible.

Mr. Nixon showed a similar determination to win the presidency. Here is a man with an established reputation for single-minded ambition which has led him into some unsavoury actions. Many people will remember Mr. Nixon introducing his pet dog into a television programme in which he was offering evidence of his integrity as a servant of the American public.

Mr. Kennedy based some of his case upon an appeal to the patriotism of American workers, alleging that United States' influence abroad has steeply declined during the Eisenhower presidency. Nixon's reply—similarly an appeal to patriotism—was that it was insulting even to suggest that U.S.A. is a second-rate power.

This, then, was an election campaign of by no means an unusual kind, in which members of the working class were asked to vote on issues of personality, nationalism and capitalist power politics, none of which has the slightest effects upon their basic interest. Nevertheless, the American voters became absorbed in the contest and grew excited when it became obvious that there was to be a tight finish.

Mr. Kennedy has been compared to the late Franklin Roosevelt, who so dominated American politics during the thirties. One of the fallacies left over from the

Roosevelt era is that Roosevelt came to power because the Americans supported his New Deal policies as a way of ending the Great Depression. In fact, these policies were not discussed during the 1932 election—the Democratic Convention of that year had produced a platform which promised fewer government agencies, reductions in government spending and a balanced Budget. After Roosevelt's victory, the New Deal policies were worked out and within a year many new government agencies had been created, government expenditure had increased and the Budget was unbalanced. We may rely on it that, if the interests of American capitalism demand it, Mr. Kennedy's election platform will be ignored in the same way as that of his famous predecessor.

It seems that Mr. Kennedy both lost and won votes because he is a Roman Catholic. Apparently, many American voters are under the impression that a Catholic president would allow his religion to sway his decisions. It is a ludicrous idea that American capitalism, with its tremendous mineral and industrial resources and its universal military influence, would allow its policy to be dictated from the Vatican. Mr. Kennedy made it quite clear that, if he were elected, he would do his best to administer American capitalism solely in its own interests. In that, he is no different from the rulers of the other capitalist nations. None of them seeks power to promote abstract principles or religions. All of them want power to organise a country for the benefit of its owning class.

It is depressing that American workers should be impressed by—indeed be part of—slick, high pressure salesmanship and cynical drives for power. For after the shouting and the ballyhoo have died, capitalism, in America and the rest of the world, remains unscathed. This social system produces the horrors of war, poverty, insecurity and racial hatred. The Democrats and Republicans, like the other capitalist parties, can offer no end to these. Only the establishment of Socialism can give us a world of peace and plenty. And for that we do not need stage-managed ballyhoo. We need knowledge and the social responsibility that goes with it.

News in Review

Rhodesian colour bar

THE BUSINESS INTERESTS of the Rhodesian Federation are making slow but steady progress in their attempt to build up a system free from colour bars, and from the inconveniences these cause in trade and industry. In the Northern Rhodesian copper mines, for example, the owners have long wanted to be able to call on the great reserve of local African labour for all the jobs in the mines, instead of having many of them reserved for Europeans. The resistance of the white miners to these proposals led to a long strike by the Europeans in 1958. But after a year's negotiation between the European miners' union and six of the mining companies, the latter have at last persuaded the whites to allow at least all the unskilled jobs to be done by Africans. It is significant that the African mineworkers' union, although it gave a modified welcome to the agreement, took no part in the discussions: it was the owners who argued the case against the colour bar.

Monckton and Tredgold

IN THE POLITICAL FIELD, the industrial interests are also forging ahead in their struggle with the planters' government under Sir Roy Welensky and Sir Edgar Whitehead. The recent Monckton commission recommended that secession from the Federation should be permitted, even though Welensky only allowed the commission into Rhodesia on Macmillan's promise that they would not be allowed to judge on the question of secession. But clearly the capitalists of Rhodesia feel that they could count on more co-operation from African governments in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia than from the present settlers' government which controls the whole Federation. As they feel their position crumbling, the planters try to bolster their control of the government. Sir Edgar Whitehead has brought in a Law and Order Bill to give himself sweeping powers "to maintain order" (i.e., to silence any opposition which gets out of hand). This has led to the resignation of Sir Robert Tredgold, the Chief Justice of the Federation, in protest. He is to lead a new movement to get rid of Sir Edgar Whitehead. All of which emphasizes the fact that those who support capitalism in Rhodesia are more and

more turning on the pressure to overthrow the former ruling class, the planters.

Labour controversy

WHEN ONE CONSIDERS the issues involved in the recent Labour Party controversy one can only wonder just what all the fuss was about. We were told that if Mr. Gaitskell continues as leader of the Labour Party it may mean the disintegration of that party. Mr. Wilson on the other hand was said to have been of a more conciliatory nature and because of this was more likely to have kept the party united. We are not concerned here with the personalities of the individuals involved except to point out that on the question of what started the controversy, namely, conference decisions on Defence, they differed only in their respective views on how best to maintain some appearance of solidarity in the labour movement. It had been said that should the issue have been settled either way it could possibly have meant the end of the Labour Party "as an effective opposition." Socialists would have had no such illusions. Since the Labour Party's inception the S.P.G.B. have been pointing out that the Party in question is not so much a party of opposition as an alternative government, having an occasional term of office in an endeavour to solve the same inevitable capitalist problems which the outgoing party have failed to solve. Socialists would be the last to shed any tears should the present controversy bring about the disintegration of the Labour Party.

Breakdown?

UNHAPPY DAYS seem to be here again in the car industry, as heavy redundancies develop in France, Germany and Great Britain. The Canadians have a similar problem and have responded by persuading their government to impose stricter conditions of dumping duty on car imports.

Unemployment is an old working class problem; it is especially ironical that it should reappear in an industry whose product has been the sacred symbol of post-war "prosperity."

Capitalism, with or without full employment, is a system in which cars, like other commodities, are made only if they can be sold. This—not the policies of

parsimonious governments or perfidious car companies—is the root of the troubles in the car industry.

Many workers, with a hire-purchase heap shrouded in balloon fabric at the kerbside, thought that what they called prosperity would last for ever. For these, the redundancies must come as a shock.

Sadly, there is no reason to suppose that unemployed workers are more receptive to the lessons of capitalist society than those who are working. Boom or slump, capitalism is an insecure system and must remain so.

"News Chronicle"

THE *News Chronicle* stuck to what it chose to call its liberal principles like a prim old Auntie watching her hemline. Whatever sordid facts capitalism produced for it to comment upon, the *Chronicle's* attitude was always impeccably virtuous.

An innocent could have been forgiven for believing that the newspaper existed only to expound lofty morality.

But the end of the *News Chronicle* and *The Star* had nothing to do with principles. Simply, they sold out because they could not balance their accounts: their revenue from sales, advertising and so on did not cover their costs of wages, materials and the like.

The people who sink money into newspapers like to receive a return on their investment, which means that the *Chronicle*, like any other commodity, was produced for profitable sale. They stopped producing the paper when it became obvious that it had little hope of ever making a profit.

This is the sort of event about which the high-minded *Chronicle* often had sad and stern words to say. It is ironical that it should have fallen foul of the same commercial necessities of capitalist society.

Party Notices

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the SPGB Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4, at 7.30 p.m.

ORDERS for literature should be sent to the Literature Department, SPGB, at the above address.

CORRESPONDENCE for the Executive Committee should be sent to the General Secretary, SPGB, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4 (Telephone: Macaulay 3811).

LETTERS containing postal orders, etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, SPGB, at the above address. Postal orders and cheques should be crossed and made payable to the SPGB.

Death of a Daily

FLEET STREET was knee deep in a flood of crocodile tears. "We didn't want to do it," cried Lord Rothermere. "Neither did we," wailed Mr. Cadbury. Nevertheless, it had happened, and *The News Chronicle* was no more. Publication had ceased with the last issue on October 17th, and the whole of its assets had been purchased by *The Daily Mail*. Its sister paper, *The Star*, suffered a similar fate and was gobbled up by Lord Rothermere's *Evening News*. According to the last figures available at the time of writing, a sum of about £1,925,000 changed hands in the deal, with a further payment of £1 for every former *Chronicle* reader whom the *Mail* manages to retain.

Everyone will be familiar with the various reactions as the bombshell exploded in the world of journalism, ranging from the plaintive last tribute of the *Guardian* to the baffled rage of the 3,000 or so workers who overnight found themselves without a job. The general public reaction was one of surprise that even with a circulation of over a million, *The Chronicle* could not escape this fate.

Somehow, we are told, nobody had really expected it to happen, even though rumours had been circulating for some time before—rumours which only a few hours previously had been dubbed as "without foundation" by a spokesman of the Rothermere Press. Could it be credible that the sizeable body of opinion represented by the *Chronicle* could be blandly ignored? Yet there it was. And clearly the cloak of secrecy had been pretty effective, as many dumb-founded readers found when the *Daily Mail* was dropped through their letter-boxes for the first time on October 18th.

It is this calm *fait accompli* which stands out so starkly from all the hullabaloo and wringing of hands. Doubtless, many of the older readers of the *Chronicle* will not be able to resist a comparison of this with the unctuous lip service to "principle" which has characterised this paper in the past (it even banned racing from its columns in the earlier days). Probably the *Guardian* leader of October 18th summed up the opinion which many held of its contemporary when it mentioned "... the attempt to give to a popular readership ... a fair impression not merely of the events of the day but of its culture, its unsmart values, its enduring humanities."

Certainly this was an impression that the *Chronicle* tried to create about itself, and of course, it was never tired of flattering its readers with its "purity" of approach.

One of the sickening hypocrisies of Capitalism is the implication behind the sales talk, that service to the public is pursued for its own sake. But the *News Chronicle* was no different from other dailies in that it was run with a view to profit. Advertising revenue played a major part in this and when, for various reasons, advertisers were no longer prepared to use its columns, when in fact the paper was no longer a paying proposition, then the "unsmart values" were promptly sacrificed, and Mr. Cadbury sold out. Possibly this will rank as one of the slickest deals in the history of journalism, and as usual, the people who really suffered were working men and women.

Much has been made of the apparent concern of the employers over the pensions and compensation payments to the staff. How far is this true? *The Observer* suggested that the sale took place to compensate the staff, yet almost in the same breath, we are told that the very profitable interest in Tyne-Tees Television had been retained. Such touching concern did not apparently induce the directors to part with this sideline. In any case, there were a number of courses open to Mr. Cadbury other than the closure of the paper, but if they were considered, they were rejected. Certainly, one of his erstwhile employees, Mr. Frank Barber, had no doubts about the parsimony of the whole affair. In a scathing television interview, he described the compensation proposals as "meagre."

The unpalatable truth is that there are no "unsmart values" in a world of private property relationships, although the *Chronicle* has for years supported this illusion. Its readers were really led to believe in its integrity of purpose and even that sophisticated supporter of capitalism, *The Guardian*, said that "it went down with all guns firing." Nearer the truth was the furious assertion by one correspondent who alleged that the paper was sunk without a whimper of defiance coming from it.

Do not let us get too nostalgic about the passing of the *Chronicle*. It was always a supporter of British Capitalism right up until its undignified exit from the

What Can I Do?

- ★ Get Subscriptions for the Socialist Standard
- ★ Get Newsagents to sell the Socialist Standard
- ★ Get Libraries to display the Socialist Standard
- ★ Persuade friends and workmates to buy the Socialist Standard
- ★ Sell and Display the Socialist Standard everywhere

"Only when industry and transport etc., are owned and democratically controlled by the whole community can service to the whole community be a reality. Nationalisation or State Capitalism is not the solution to the problem"

SOCIALISM OR NATIONALISATION

1/3 (postage paid)

scene. Do not forget that it has after all only fallen a victim to its own practices, for during its lifetime it took over no less than four other newspapers. With its disappearance, the battle between the remaining giants will probably get that much sharper, and maybe in the not too distant future, we shall see a repetition of the same lying denials that accompanied the demise of the *Chronicle*, as yet another journal is made ready for the block.

Whichever goes next, it is as well to remember that they are all fervent supporters of the capitalist set-up. The whole

sordid story of trickery, deceit and falsehood can come as no surprise to us—it is so typical of a world of dog-eat-dog. When interests so demanded, the reputation of the Cadburys for high principles and good labour relations was worth very little, and quickly gave way to a calculated and cynical move which threw 3,000 workers out of employment. A facade has crumbled as far as the *Chronicle* is concerned, but the rest of capitalism continues its wearying existence, embodying all the shabbiness and double-dealing with which we are so nauseatingly familiar.

E. T. C.

The King of Nepal

SEVERAL WEEKS AGO the King and Queen of Nepal paid a state visit to London. You may recall the event, particularly if you were a Londoner caught up in the traffic chaos that day and were not mollified by the background of pageantry.

The City of London, however, showed pleasure unalloyed. The Crown Prince Birinda of Nepal watched the Guildhall luncheon in honour of his father, King Mahendra. Four hundred guests tackled lobster soup, sole and pheasant.

The king wore the same gorgeous uniform as he did for his reception by the Royal Family on his arrival, with the addition of the baton of a British field-marshal, newly presented to him by the Queen. In his speech he said:—

London is especially attractive to us because here was begun the battle of liberty and freedom, centuries ago, and here it was won during the latest—and let us hope, the last—challenge in war.

The task is now to press on with the Battle of Peace—and we in Nepal unshakeably believe that London is going to be our greatest friend in this struggle, too.

Why do the Nepalese King and Queen hob-nob with "our" Queen, and what is the significance of Nepal to the British ruling class? What meaning lay behind the King's speech at the Guildhall? Such suspicious questions seem to come naturally to Socialists, for we have learned by experience in capitalism not to take too much notice of the description on the label.

May we now proceed to attempt to unravel the little mystery of the royal visit even though it may rather take some of the glitter off the tinsel.

Nepal is a border state between India and Tibet. It is 525 miles long and up to 140 miles wide, with a population of 5½ million. The family of the present

ruler has been in power for decades and the history of Nepal is a long story of royal ruthlessness, trickery and bloody outrages.

Nepal invaded Tibet in 1855 and received annual tribute until 1952, when Tibet was colonised by "Socialist" China. Since then China has reversed the process and has become in turn the aggressor. The Chinese last June invaded Nepal's border, killed a Nepalese army officer and took prisoners back. It naturally gave a severe jolt to relations between them and makes it understandable that the Nepalese ruling-class should now wish to lean on the U.K. And with India on its other border Nepal is between two dangerous giants.

But the so-called Socialist Government of Nepal is good at playing one off against the other and in the process doing well for the ruling-class. To date the economic and technical aid from India amounts to about 100 million rupees (£8 million). Besides, India has been helping Nepal build up her vital lines of transportation and supply. A 972 mile highway linking Katmandu, the capital, with the Indian border was constructed by Indian engineers. In 1958 an agreement with India was signed for the laying of nearly 900 miles of roads. India has also agreed to contribute R's 500,000 for irrigation and waterworks.

From China, too, Nepal has received R's 10 million in economic aid as part of a R's 60 million aid programme. Russia, too, has agreed to set up a hydro-electric power plant, a sugar factory with a diesel power plant, and to prepare a road survey costing three million roubles.

Whilst Nepalese capitalism is expanding, the Nepalese working-class is suffering heavy unemployment and is embarrassing the so-called Socialist

government of the country. They, however, hold out hope in the start of the second five-year Plan now beginning, which has made provision to absorb about half a million working people during the Plan period. Social services cannot do much to tackle this thorny problem and the population is growing at the rate of 1.5 per cent. per year.

Amongst the Nepalese underprivileged, so great is the struggle for existence that normally children over 10 work and some even below that age. But unemployment means cheap labour, and cheap labour can give rise to good profits. No wonder the City of London are interested. The dinner at the Guildhall was bread cast upon the water, to be returned with interest.

The recently elected "Socialist" government of Nepal serves to mark that country's entry into the world of capitalism. The Sino-Indian dispute and its repercussions loom large on the Nepalese political horizon, but as a way out the Nepalese ruling class is developing a world consciousness.

When the King of Nepal referred to liberty and freedom, he was no doubt referring to the liberty and freedom for the ruling class to make money with as little in the way of restrictions and hindrances as possible. Those who remember the journeys and activities of the Duke of Windsor when he was Prince of Wales will realise that the King of Nepal is not the first royal commercial traveller.

F. E. OFFORD.

Peace a Profession?

"Peace Is Our Profession. Headquarters Strategic Air Command." states the giant notice board outside the U.S. Strategic Air Command H.Q. at Omaha, Nebraska. From this base, under the command of General Power, are directed the activities of 250,000 personnel in seventy bases throughout the world, over 2,000 bombers and jet-tankers, and 90 per cent. of the Western Alliance's nuclear striking power.

In the event of war over 1,000 bombers, each one capable of more destruction than all the bombers involved in the whole of the last war, would be sent aloft. The crews of these bombers have pre-arranged targets and are constantly on the alert; at least once every twenty-four hours the alarm is sounded.

The entire fleet of aircraft can be airborne within a quarter of an hour—the first within three and a half minutes.

Under a system of warnings and controls the crews are able to fly to predetermined points on their target routes; if they have a final go-ahead, on the express orders of the American President, they would continue on their routes and press home their attack. (If this final order is not given the bombers are instructed to return to their bases). Simultaneously intercontinental ballistic missiles—the long range rockets with H-bomb war-heads—would be released.

And so it goes on, this melancholy tale of potential destruction on a scale hitherto undreamt of.

These facts and figures apply more or less equally to the Soviet bloc and, of course, to Britain's R.A.F. and the air forces of other powers, all of which are on a permanent war footing. It's all for peace and for the defence of righteous principles—they all say.

The American ruling class and their allies allege that it's a case of safeguarding freedom, democracy, "a way of life," a heritage; and, to help things along, they are never shy of enlisting the Almighty. Krushchev and company's tale is a little different. Apparently they have to offer defence against imperialism (particularly the American variety) to keep safe the "People's State" and "Socialism." So in order that people should remain "free" (both sides having their own peculiar definitions of this term), opposing capitalist powers are prepared if necessary to take part in the possible wholesale destruction of mankind.

What can be done to end this terrible state of affairs? Capitalist politicians can only talk on terms of a third world war and local conflicts (which may or may not remain localised) as long as they have the unquestioning support of the world's workers. Without this they would be impotent.

Modern wars are caused by property conflicts between rival teams of big business, arrayed on a national level, the private bosses of America and the state bosses of Russia being at present the major contestants. The stakes are high: vast resources, natural and man made, markets for an ever increasing volume of goods, to protect or capture these, capitalist states need strategic bases and political spheres of influence.

With these real, material, profitable bones of contention the alleged principles are clearly demonstrated to be something less than principles. Former enemies who were never, never to be re-armed, become military allies, and personal

association with the previous regime is no impediment in this unsavoury process. Franco Spain and Salazar Portugal help to protect "democracy," as does Chiang Kai Shek and as did Syngmann Rhee. Dubious Latin American regimes are supported, so as to ensure stability; that is, the status quo on investments. The Soviet hierarchy with their commercial, and therefore, military commitments, are not at a loss in the game; in fact, they are racing neck and neck, if not leading by a short head.

Fidel Castro seems to be a friend in need at the moment; strategy and oil are more than remarkable coincidences (Batista, his more sadistic predecessor, was a stabiliser of Uncle Sam's). Nasser

was the lad sometime ago, and new faces representing new aspiring ruling classes are constantly arising from the colonial struggles.

And so this dirty game of power politics goes on, over issues which are not worth the shedding of one drop of working class blood. It is now 21 years since the beginning of World War II. It began with Allied indignation at German bombing of "open cities," like Warsaw, went on with indiscriminate aerial bombardment by both sides, and concluded with Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Are you going to allow an even greater catastrophe, or are you going to wake up NOW!

F. S.

The Passing Show

is from the *Sunday Press* (18/10/59):

The Holy Father yesterday contrasted the appalling exploitation of workers at the beginning of the century with their present-day pleasant working conditions. Management and labour, working together in harmony, had created a new situation where the workers had never had it so well.

The reader may think that at least it is something that the Pope realises that things were bad sixty years ago. But, of course, everyone will agree that things were bad sixty years ago. The ruling class and its allies are prepared to admit anything except that the present system is bad. In the early years of the century, when the Socialist Party was already working, speaking and writing about "the appalling exploitation of workers," the then Popes were supporting the capitalist system, just as the present Pope supports the capitalist system now. In fifty years' time, no doubt, the Pope (if there still is one) will be talking about "the appalling exploitation of the workers in 1960." But it does no good to attack the evils of half a century ago: they can't be altered now. What must be done is to attack the evils of today—i.e., the evils which are inseparable from the capitalist system.

Harmony

The news that the Archbishop of Canterbury is going to visit the Pope makes one wonder what they will talk about. At any rate, we can be sure it won't do the working class any good. For the Pope agrees with the Archbishop that capitalism is a fine system. This

Pray and work

And what has the Pope to say about the present? He gave, apparently, a "rousing warning against those who trampled the sacrosanct rights of the human person"—but had no word to say of the Catholic-supported Fascist

government of Spain, which denies the workers the most elementary democratic rights. And he rounded off with some advice which must have had every capitalist in the audience standing and cheering:

The Pope recommended the workers to practise Christian virtues and follow the motto of St. Benedict, "Ora et Labora" (pray and work). In so doing, you will earn the treasures of heaven, he said. Believe that if you like. One thing is certain: you won't earn treasures anywhere else.

Monkey business

At a furniture factory in Houston, Texas, three chimpanzees have begun work sealing cushions and doing other simple jobs. The factory-owner plans to replace one employee each week with a chimp. To the factory's workers, this means the threat of the sack, the threat of unemployment. But there is more to it than that. Surely this news item underlines our present predicament. These human beings—members of the human race, which produced Michaelangelo, Beethoven, Shakespeare—are now reduced to spending their working lives doing monotonous, repetitive jobs which could be done as well by chimpanzees. This is not a question of spending a couple of hours a day, or ten hours a week, tending machines, which people may well decide to do under Socialism, in order to produce enough of the necessities of life and at the same time free themselves for the rest of the time to develop their personalities as they think

best. This is a question of workers spending their entire working lives on stultifying tasks.

The *Daily Herald* (12/11/60) printed an article which said this should be stopped because of the harm it would do to the human ego. "... There are things that the human ego rejects, out of hand, without another thought. And one of those things is the realisation that one's occupation, one's life work, could be done equally well by a chimpanzee."

This must typify the difference in political thought between reformers and Socialists. The writer of the *Herald* article would stop the chimpanzees doing these jobs, because it makes obvious the degradation of human beings involved—this, of course, would do nothing to stop the degradation. Socialists, on the other hand, want to abolish the system which leads to men spending their lives in this way.

No trivialities

From an advert. in *The Times* (19/10/60):

The owner of a Rolls-Royce Silver Cloud II has his sights firmly on fundamentals and is never decoyed by passing trivialities. A philosophy reflected in his choice of motor car. . .

So that's how you get a Rolls. Next time you see anyone driving a broken-down old jalopy tied together with string, don't assume rashly that it's because he can't afford anything better: no, it was his philosophy which led him to choose that model. If you feel that you have your "sights firmly on funda-

mentals" and the rest of it—well, your philosophy clearly entitles you to a Rolls. Better apply direct.

A. W. E.

Communists in Name Alone

MANY PEOPLE are taken in by the apparently Socialist phrasing used in Communist Party literature. The fact that Moscow publishes some of Marx's works tends to convince such people that the Russian system is based on Marxism and is building Socialism. Without going any further into the matter, they find it hard to believe that the so-called Communist Party is not genuinely Marxist or Communist in character.

Even people who are opposed to the Communist Party, or who are not interested in politics at all, accept the myth that a basically different system exists in Russia. The propaganda machines of both East and West agree that Russia, China, and their satellites, are Communist. They simply disagree as to its desirability, although it is doubtful whether the ruling class of either side are really so naive.

A careful reading of *The British Road to Socialism*, the most recent programme of the Communist Party, gives some indication of how utterly confused and muddle-headed that organisation is. They freely use the term "Socialism," but their "explanations" betray only too clearly the fact that they have not the vaguest notion of what it means. Having stuck a Socialist label on their State enterprise capitalist programme, they proceed in great detail to show us how different it is from private enterprise capitalism.

The more they elaborate the more familiar becomes the ring of reformism, compromise and collaboration. The capitalist terminology is not disguised, it is blandly called Socialist.

The most important question that arises from the pamphlet is—if this programme were put into effect would it at least be a greater advance towards Socialism than continued Tory and Labour administrations? The answer is an emphatic "NO." If the working-class were to support the Communist Party on a programme of State Capitalism, as outlined in the pamphlet and called Socialism, the only result would be disillusionment. In Russia and her Empire all the ugly features of capitalism are clearly to be seen. There is no evidence that state bosses are any better

for the working-class than private bosses.

The state is essentially an instrument of class rule and will not exist in a classless society—Socialism. This is a fact which some of the old Bolsheviks knew, but having taken power when historical development was bringing capitalism into being, they turned their backs on it. They have also turned their backs on Marx's analysis of capitalist society.

As the programme makes repeated references to a "Socialist Government" and a "Socialist Britain" and uses such terms as the "Socialist State" and the "Working-Class State," it is clearly evident that the so-called Communist Party imagines that nations, states and governments will continue to exist under Socialism. A few quotations will show how capitalism has made them eat their words on the question of the state and how they have adulterated Marxism in order to try and make it support its opposite.

Engels writes in *Anti-Duhring*: "The modern state, whatever its form, is an essentially capitalist machine; it is the state of the capitalists, the ideal collective body of all capitalists. The more productive forces it takes over as its property, the more citizens it exploits. The workers remain wage-earners, proletarians. The capitalist relationship is not abolished; it is rather pushed to an extreme."

Lenin knew this to be the Marxist view of the state. In a pamphlet (*Lenin and Stalin on the State*), for example, he tells us "... the State is the product and the manifestation of the irreconcilability of class antagonism. The State arises when, where, and to the extent that class antagonisms cannot be objectively reconciled. And, conversely, the existence of the State proves that the class antagonisms are irreconcilable." (Page 26).

The truth that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has all along been the instrument for the building of modern industrial capitalism in Russia can be seen from the wage labour and capital basis of the Russian system. Vishinsky who, unlike many of the old Bolsheviks, died of natural causes, contemptuously stated that the so-called doctrine of the withering away of the State has been a favourite subject of petty-bourgeois chatter about Marxism. "What we want is a strong State with a redoubtable repressive apparatus." (*The Patriotic War of the Soviet Government*, published in Moscow, 1944).

It has been necessary to show the true nature of the State in order to make clear the all-important fact that the existence of the State is incompatible

with common ownership of the means of production. Common ownership means classless society, therefore, the absence of the class State or repressive apparatus. Furthermore, it is vital to establish this point because the "Socialist State," a contradiction in terms, is the central theme and the basic proposition of the so-called Communist Party's programme. It follows that the rambling list of reforms which make up the programme to be carried out by a "Communist" government brands them as a purely state-capitalist party.

Although the *British Road to Socialism* consists of only thirty pages, there are so many fallacies and misconceptions that a hefty volume would be needed to thoroughly deal with each anti-Socialist proposition.

It is suggested, for example, that the Labour Party could join with the Communist Party to establish Socialism in Britain. This, despite the fact that the Labour Party has never stood for Socialism and when in power has run capitalism and been guilty of every anti-working-class act in the book. When in opposition, the Labour Party is obsessed with trying to find a policy that will get them elected to run capitalism again. To talk of a Socialist Britain with a "foreign policy" is to contradict the essential world-wide nature of Socialism, which in a world system there will be no "foreigners."

To talk of foreign trade is to deny production for use and free access. Distribution according to needs is the basis of Socialism. To talk of trade at all is to talk of the struggle for markets, and rivalry for resources. To talk of trade is to talk of war. To talk of "independence for colonial peoples" is to propose the setting up of more national states on the lines of home ruled capitalism with still more rivalry. Independence is the cry of the nationalist but it does not end the dependence of the working-class upon wages. Nationalism atomises the world into a number of mutually hostile fragments, where the workers in each fragment line up with their native capitalists. Internationalism expresses the oneness of working-class interest in the struggle to overthrow the wages system and establish the world community of Socialism.

For the Communist Party to talk of "the withdrawal of all armed forces from colonial and dependent territories or occupied spheres of influence and the handing over of sovereignty to governments freely chosen by their peoples," is hypocrisy in view of the imperialist record of the Soviet Union.

Socialism means the end of the employer to employee relationship, the end of landlord and tenant. Under Socialism there will be no pensions or benefits, which are the hall-marks of poverty under welfare capitalism.

To say that the Communist Party "will raise pensions and benefits for the old, the widows, the disabled and the chronic sick . . .", is to say they will continue with a system of rich and poor. They promise to provide cheap houses at "a low rent." Once again, it is only poor people who need low rents. Socialism means no rents because accommodation, like everything else, will be produced solely for use.

To anybody with half an eye the fact that the Communist Party talks of "reduction of mortgage interest charges," "lower cost of repairs," "finance," "lower prices and higher wages," shows how firmly they are in the grip of the economics of Capitalism.

In the final chapter, another futile effort is made to woo the Labour Party and the co-operative movement. Marx is linked with Lenin (with whom he has less in common than chalk has with cheese), and we find "church organisations" and "business people" listed amongst the "progressive forces" which will "open up the way for the advance to Socialism."

It is indeed tragic that workers are so easily fooled by names, for even the most rudimentary understanding of Communism will expose the sham of those who are Communist in name alone.

H. B.

COMPANION PARTIES

Socialist Party of Australia

P.O. Box 1440 Melbourne
29 Doris Street, North Sydney, P.O. Box 2291 Sydney

Socialist Party of Canada

P.O. Box 115 Winnipeg, Manitoba

Socialist Party of Ireland

Gen. Sec: 24 Newington Avenue, Belfast

Socialist Party of New Zealand

P.O. Box 62 Petone

World Socialist Party of the United States

11 Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston 9, Mass.

WAGES

The wages of work is cash.

The wages of cash is want more cash.

The wages of want more cash is vicious competition.

The wages of vicious competition is—the world we live in.

The work—cash—want circle is the vicious circle that ever turned men into fiends.

Earning a wage is a prison occupation and a wage-earner is a sort of gaol-bird. Earning a salary is a prison overseer's job, a gaoler instead of a gaol-bird.

Living on your income is strolling grandly outside the prison in terror lest you have to go in. And since the work-prison covers almost every scrap of the living earth, you stroll up and down on a narrow beat, about the same as a prisoner taking his exercise.

This is called universal freedom.

From "Pansies" by D. H. LAWRENCE

(Published by Martin Secker)

Finance & Industry

Making Money from Armaments

A GENERATION OR MORE AGO, when most of the world's armaments were made by private companies, it seemed plausible to many people that if the armament-making came under government control and private profit was taken away there would be no deliberate encouragement of armament competition and the risk of war would be less. It was always a mistaken hope because the economic rivalries that make for war come from all the profit-seeking interests in all the countries, not just some sections or some countries. And in our own day armaments moving openly or secretly across the world are mostly despatched by governments not by private companies. These in any event could not operate without the consent of their own government.

The popular way of looking at the armament trade has changed too, and "merchants of death" has gone out of fashion as a term of abuse. This is not surprising, because the governments supplying the arms now present themselves as public benefactors, only concerned to help "good causes." Anyway, all the governments are in the business—from the last Labour Government in Britain, which sold military aircraft abroad, to America, Israel and Russia.

Russia's latest business deal in its growing invasion of world markets is the reported sale to India of £11 million worth of equipment, including heavy transport aircraft, helicopters and road building machinery. (*Guardian*, 7/10/60). The India Government wanted to buy in America but the Russians offered the stuff at lower prices. The significant aspect is that the purpose of the purchase is to enable India "to defend its border with China."

Of course, China may or may not continue to be Russia's ally, but business is business, on both sides of the Iron Curtain, and who can object if Russia helps both sides.

It recalls the attitude of the Russian Government (and of the Communist Party) during the war, before Russia became involved. The Russian Government was selling oil and other materials to Germany and some simple-minded people here complained about it. Which brought from the Secretary of the Russia Today Society a letter to the *Manchester Guardian* assuring its readers that the

Russian Government was quite willing to sell to both sides.

The "Alternative" Society

The people who refer to present-day capitalism as the affluent society make much of the greater variety of articles that are available to be bought by the mass of the population. They quote aggregate figures of washing machines, motor cars, refrigerators, etc., and the figures look impressive. But Mr. Mark Abrams, writing in the *Observer* (23/10/60) provides an analysis which puts the matter in better perspective. He divides families into two groups, those in "which the chief earner is in a white-collar post and earning at least £800 a year," and those not in this group. About a third of families fall into the first group, and two-thirds into the second group, which he calls "working-class."

He includes receivers of property incomes in this group as well as wage and salary earners. He shows that "only one item—the television set—is to be found in the majority of British homes." The rest are the possessions of minorities.

His list showing the percentage who own various items, among his "working-class" group is as follows:—

Television set ...	79 per cent.
Lawn mower ...	34 " "
Washing machine ...	37 " "
Car ...	22 " "
Refrigerator ...	13 " "
House ...	29 " "

He does not make the important point that the percentage who own all of these items is, on his figures, at most 13 per cent. He does not include a telephone in this list; had he done so the percentage owning the lot would probably be under 10 per cent.

And he does not stress the point that "own" is an ambiguous term since millions of the houses and the rest are only "owned" by the user in the sense that he has them while paying off the mortgage or hire purchase instalments. And "car" includes all the barely road-worthy corks.

Another enquiry (also referred to in the *Observer*) brings out that "many families when furnishing a home, prefer to leave some rooms bare rather than

incur a small millstone of debt." For the majority of workers it is not a question of moving all the things on the list but of owning one or two because they cannot afford them all—the alternative society. You can have full choice as long as you can afford what you buy.

A description of life in Stepney by Godfrey Hodgson (*Observer*, 21/8/60) had the following which should further dampen the optimists.

The Rev. Joseph Williamson, of St. Paul's, Dock Street, said that the best living quarters in his parish were the Peabody Buildings. They had no baths. The lavatories and sinks were outside the flats themselves, and were shared. "In illness, in winter especially, this is bad." But all the other blocks of old flats were far worse.

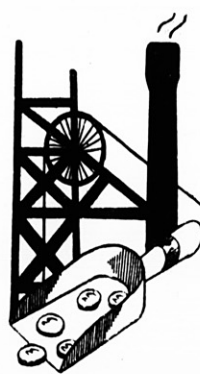
"Apart from the flats," Father Williamson went on, "we have squalor beyond belief. Let me say in all seriousness that on a modern farm the accommodation provided for pigs is far superior."

Canada's Unemployment

The myth still receives wide acceptance that all the countries have for a decade had the low level of unemployment ruling in Britain. This ignores the years of massive unemployment that afflicted the workers in Germany and Italy until comparatively recently. And it ignores Canada. The *Financial Times* (28/10/60) printed a graph of unemployment in the past four years since January, 1957. It shows unemployment in Canada reaching 9 per cent. and 10 per cent. in each winter and never falling below 4 per cent. except early in 1957 and for a short period in 1959.

The Canadian Government has been calling special conferences to deal with the situation and admits that it threatens to get worse. Many British immigrants are coming back. The Canadian motor industry has been asking for tariff protection against the import of British cars.

Canadian workers out of a job or threatened with dismissal because of fall-



ing sales can derive what comfort they can from their Prime Minister's remark that "the situation would get worse if action were not taken, and he promised that it would be taken before Parliament met." *Times* (24th September, 1960.)

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Russian Trade Policy

The oil industry has been worried by big Russian sales of oil at below the prices ruling in the rest of the world, but the *Times* (11/10/60) hopefully interprets some remarks made by Khrushchev at a lunch in New York when he was asked:—

Whether Russia would extend to other commodities the same sort of agreement on quotas that it had accepted already for tin, aluminium and diamonds." According to *Pravda* "Mr. Khrushchev replied that there was no reason why this principle should not be extended to other goods."

The *Times* interprets this as meaning that "Russia is willing to join international commodity agreements provided that Western countries are prepared to allow the U.S.S.R. what it regards as a fair share of the market." In the diamond industry it will be remembered that Russia now sells all its diamonds through the South African Diamond Group. A correspondent writing in *Reynolds News* (16/10/60) went further and suggested that Western oil interests are trying to do a deal with Russia.

The leading capitalists in the world, the mammoth international oil companies, are planning to break through the Cold War barriers that have throttled top-level political contact between East and West since the Paris Summit fiasco. They are determined to make a vast oil deal with the Russians. In effect, they want to set up a cartel agreement that would span all the world's oil supplies... though the first news leaks, planned to test the temperature, refer to the scheme as a "live and let live arrangement."

The Plan: Russia should be allowed to move immediately and extensively into the huge European oil market. With a one-fifth increase in consumption in 1959, this is still the world's biggest market despite mounting African and Asian demands.

In return, the Russians would offer the big international companies no oil challenge in the rest of the Western Zone and among the neutral nations.

*

Business Morality

Children may still be taught that honesty is the best policy and crime does not pay, but once they enter the

adult world of business these notions fade away, not by "brainwashing" but simply by disuse; to be replaced by the practical rule that what is profitable is right, but when in doubt you should consult a good lawyer. In a successful take-over bid those who lose may set up an outcry about "shady methods," but the business world really sees nothing wrong in taking over a concern at a fraction of its value, throwing out or buying out sitting directors, and getting rid of redundant workers. And when the take-over assumes the form of a government seizing foreign investments at dictated rates of compensation or none at all, the rest of the world sheds no tears over the "business immorality" of it but hurries in to trade with the new owners.

Cuba is a case in point. Fidel Castro's government seized American-owned sugar plantations and factories and went on handling and selling the sugar on its own account. From the standpoint of capitalist morality these are "stolen goods." So the American ex-owners started action to obstruct the sale of Cuban sugar by Castro's government. At this point we turn to the *Daily Telegraph*

(22/10/60), a correspondent of which had been making enquiries about the Americans' chances.

The one thing entirely missing from the article was a nice upstanding declaration that of course they would not touch stolen goods, because that would be dishonest. The attitude rather was the purely legalistic one that the American companies do not stand a chance of proving their case. Not a denial that the sugar is "stolen" but a near certainty that no American company can prove that a particular lot of unmarked Cuban sugar came from a particular factory which used to belong to the company.

The article quoted "a spokesman of a City firm" who said: "It is impossible to make any forecast. But if you have a cargo of, say 9,000 tons of sugar it would be very difficult for a person on the other side of the Atlantic to say: 'These grains came from our factory'."

Tate and Lyle's are going on buying Cuban sugar and told the *Daily Telegraph* "We have not allowed our buying policy to change as a result of the dispute between the Cubans and the Americans."

H.

Notes on Economic History (2)

The Mercantile System

THIS WAS THE BEGINNING of the modern era. A new form of economic practice was developing, and new theories made their appearance in the form known as Mercantilism. This term (introduced by Adam Smith) is, however, a little misleading for its advocates were quite as much concerned with industrial development as with the exchange of merchandise.

The term "Mercantile system" is loosely used to denote all the principles applied by the governments and traders of those days—though it is a fact that these principles have a general conformity. Mercantilism was a growth of its time. It was a system of political absolutism and centralization in favour of the burghers, and mobile capital, to the detriment of the lords of the soil. To throw light on this we must glance at the economic process of this period.

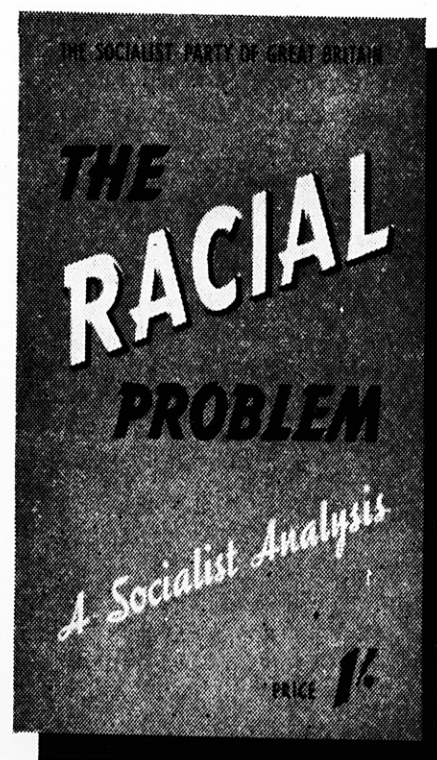
The economic organisation of the Middle Ages was disrupted mainly by those political changes which led in Western Europe to the formation of the national states (France, Spain, Portugal and England); and in Germany, later on, to the formation of territorial prince-

doms. As a result, the Mediaeval economy, with its urban units, was replaced by larger units of different kind—the unified national economic areas. Political concentration in these areas resulted in money and wealth becoming elements of political power in a way very different from of old.

The idea of money as the nerve of the State was in many respects new. The State, which had been constitutional (in the Feudalist sense) became absolute; a State army replaced the Feudal militia; and the centralisation of the administration established a paid civil service, judiciary, etc., where Feudal methods of self government had previously prevailed. The result was that military and civil concerns, taxation, and the processes of State credit, tended more and more to be carried on upon a monetary basis instead of by the payments in kind of the earlier economy. Money acquired a significance that was quite new.

These changes were accompanied by the economic upheavals that followed the discovery of America (1492) and the opening of the sea route to the East Indies (1498). New possibilities of world

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trade came into being, giving power to those traders situated on Western sea-boards (the Spanish, the Portuguese, the Dutch and the English), but weakening those cut off from the new commerce. Trade, and the money standing behind trade, became important as sources of wealth and political power.

The effects of these displacements of wealth were reinforced by a new process. Soon after the discovery of the New World a vast amount of gold and silver began to move from Spain across Europe. As a result, the purchasing power of these metals fell enormously, with a consequent tremendous rise in prices. It is true that the rise in prices began about 1510, whereas the increase in gold and silver began to make itself felt about 1520. This was the result of famine, plague, and other causes, but nonetheless, the superabundance of gold was a factor, and a major one, in the rise of prices. The influx of gold played a great part in undermining the foundations of the old feudal economy, for it favoured the diffusion of the means of credit, and laid the ground for the development of the capitalist system.

All these circumstances tended to emphasize the importance of money, to stress the importance of commercial wealth as compared with the wealth that changed hands in kind during the feudal period. Thus, whereas in earlier times there had been the endeavour to check the growth of a monetary economy, the opinion now was that money, if not the only source of wealth, was certainly of decisive importance.

The primary aim of the mercantilists was to achieve a favourable balance of trade. When exports exceed imports, when the value of the goods sold to buyers abroad exceeds the value of the goods purchased from such buyers, the amount of money entering a country will exceed the amount of money leaving it. Then the balance of trade is said to be favourable to the country in which money thus accumulates. To achieve this favourable balance (which was the desire of the mercantilists) it was necessary to stimulate export trade. With that end in view, it was essential to foster industries that created commodities for export and, on the other hand, to check as far as possible the import of commodities.

But if home industry was to be fostered, special attention had to be paid to internal communications. It was necessary to abolish or reduce tolls and the like, and to break down the barriers erected by the urban economy of the Guilds. Good roads had to be built, canals dug, internal communications facilitated, home markets established.

Customs policy was, therefore, of supreme importance in the mercantile system. The champions of that system wanted to abolish export duties, and if necessary stimulate exports by subsidies; at the same time they aimed at reducing imports by a high import tariff, or by actual prohibition. Instances are in France, the unified import tariff in 1664, and the development towards such a tariff in England after 1692. As corollaries to the restriction of imports, there had to be freedom for the import of raw materials needed by home industries and prohibition of the export of such materials.

R. A.

Letter from Wales

"The fault lies in the system and it is natural that individuals should react as they do when such an occasion arises." I pricked my ears up. The speaker was one of a small group of men waiting in the local doctor's surgery.

It is always good to be in on any discussion about Capitalism and so it was not long before I found an opportunity to contribute. The topic that drew the above remark was actually concerned with Roy Paul, the Welsh international footballer admitting to having accepted a £500 bribe. From there on we continued to probe deeper into the "carrying on," the actions and statements of important people and organizations in the news.

For example, the Ebbw Vale Election. Though there are four contestants, two only—Labour and Plaid Cymru appear to interest the electorate. Plaid Cymru, the Welsh Nationalist Party, is being aided by its pirate radio station "The Voice of Wales." They are also introducing "colour" in the form of music at their meetings—items on the harp. They continue—as in previous elections—to "harp on the theme" "Ruddid i Gymru" (Freedom for Wales).

Another topic was the C.N.D. March. Cardiff was recently chosen as the venue for an attack. Much excitement prevailed, not the least being the closed doors of the Temple of Peace in the face of the marchers (which were later opened to allow them entry). A prominent Communist leader was roundly accused of attempting to make political capital out of the proceedings. This should be a warning to all that the true C.N.D'er may be all for peace as long as you accept the view that the struggle against

war has nothing to do with political ideology!

W. BRAIN.



December 1910

THE ANTI-WAR CAMPAIGN

In our report of the International Congress at Copenhagen we referred briefly to the absurd proposals to organise the workers of the world to ensure "universal disarmament and the prevention of warfare."

The main demands in the resolution which the German Social-Democratic Party forced upon the Congress were, compulsory arbitration upon international disputes, and Parliamentary action for disarmament and the prevention of wars.

The master class, being but a tenth of the population, can only keep possession of the means of production by their control (through the political machinery) of the armed forces. While the master class have that control it is hopeless for the workers to attempt to seize capitalist property. It is sheer madness, therefore, to expect that the capitalist class would, because the workers demand it, either abolish the armed forces or hand their control over to the working class. That would be to abolish themselves as a ruling class. Further, the interests of the capitalists of one country clash with those of the capitalists of other lands, especially in the matter of obtaining markets, and so long as capitalism lasts there will be this clash of interests, necessitating ever-increasing armaments and the inevitable appeal to arms. It is then absurd to waste time and energy in an endeavour to convince the capitalists that wars are superfluous and a curse under capitalism.

Let the workers learn their position in society and unite to obtain control of the machinery of government, including the armed forces. Such action will make it possible for them to take possession of the means of production and use them for the benefit of all. In that way alone will they be able to usher in a system of society wherein universal unity of interests will abolish all war, be it between classes or nations.

(SOCIALIST STANDARD, December, 1910.)

The Hidden Persuaders

THE HIDDEN PERSUADERS, by Vance Packard. Penguin Books. 2/6d.

This interesting, and in part entertaining, critique of a now not so new approach to advertising has recently been added to the Penguin catalogue. Although this one short book obviously cannot, and indeed does not attempt to, deal more than very superficially with the subject (as well as revealing Mr. Packard's obvious bias) it contains much useful information and some pertinent comments.

Motivation research invented and pioneered by people like Dr. Ernest Dichter (President of Motivation Research Inc.) and Louis Cheskin (Director of the Colour Research Institute of America) as early as the 1930's, has been developed since the second World War, and really became established in the early 1950's. Even today those who are most enthusiastic admit that "M.R." is only in its early stages.

What is M.R., and how does it help in advertising? Briefly, it could be explained as "selling to the subconscious"; that is, finding people's hidden weaknesses, wishes and frustrations, and exploiting these in order that, to meet expanding production, they can be persuaded to buy more.

Different experts favour different methods of M.R., the best known of these is the "depth interview." For this individuals or groups of people taken from a cross section of the population are led in discussion by experts, having first been put in a relaxed state of mind either by hypnosis or the administration of a special drug. It is claimed by advocates of this method that, "when their defences are down," people reveal secrets to which they would not admit under normal circumstances.

M.R. is used not only in persuading the consumer to buy more. Public relations experts can be found advising churchmen on how they can become more effective manipulators of their congregation, business concerns of their employees and politicians of their voters.

By the mid-fifties both major United States Parties had become deeply involved in the use of professional persuaders. In early 1956 "Nation's Business," published by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, proclaimed: "Both parties will merchandise their candidates and issues by the same methods that business has developed to sell goods. These include scientific selection of appeals, planned repetition. . . . Candidates need, in addition to rich voices and good diction, to be able to look 'sincerely' at the TV camera." This method of "selling" was used to such an extent at the last but one Presidential Election that Mr. Adlai Stevenson said: "The idea that you can merchandise candidates for high office like breakfast cereal . . . is the ultimate indignity to the democratic process."

As Socialists are not surprised that those in control under the present system are constantly trying to think of new ways to persuade us (quoting *Christianity and Crisis*, an American Protestant publication) "to consume, consume and consume, whether we need or even desire the product almost forced upon us . . . to consume to meet the needs of the productive process," to accept their ideas, religion and leaders.

Although at present the use of M.R. in the United Kingdom is negligible, it will certainly increase. The *Observer* may have had this in mind when featuring Dr. Dichter in their "Profile" a few weeks ago.

Mr. Packard in his final chapter quotes Clyde Miller in his book *The Process of Persuasion*: "When we learn to recognise the devices of the persuaders, we build a 'recognition reflex.' Such a recognition reflex can protect us, not only against the petty trickery of small time persuaders operating in the commonplace affairs of everyday life, but also against the mistaken or false persuasions of powerful leaders. . . . That, surely, is a good thing for all of us to bear in mind when listening to the utterances of those who 'lead' us today."

E. C.

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Socialist Comment	6d.
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From The Guardian (20.10.60)

OFF THE AIR

Sir,—The juxtaposition of "The American Election on Television" and the letter on the BBC and the Third Channel in Saturday's "Guardian" brings to light something of importance to all who value freedom of speech.

Whereas the dissent of bodies like the Socialist Labour Party is able to find expression through the medium of American television, no such opportunity is provided by our "national institution" the BBC. Fifty-six years after our foundation, we of the Socialist Party of Great Britain have yet to be offered any time on the air.

Curiously enough, only when visiting the United States as fraternal delegates to the World Socialist Party have any of our members had the opportunity of presenting our case to the viewing public.—Your &c.,

EDMUND S. GRANT.

Thinking to Some Purpose, by L. Susan Stebbing. *Penguin Books* (2/6).

DO YOU KNOW what special pleading is? Would you recognise a syllogism if you saw one? Do you realise the fallacies that may lie behind an "average" figure?

If you are a Socialist—reading, discussing, arguing about Socialism—you will know how necessary it is to be able to detect fallacies in your opponent's arguments. And, for that matter, in your own. *Thinking to Some Purpose* will enable you to recognise immediately all the most common fallacies. It gives the groundwork of logic, put in simple, straightforward terms.

Special pleading, for example. This arises when someone makes an assertion that apparently applies to everyone, and yet clearly it is never intended to apply to the speaker. The speaker, in other words, makes an implied "special plea" in his own favour.

You may hear a person who lives on a large inherited income complaining that the "dole" given to the unemployed "pauperizes" them by giving them the means of subsistence without working for it. Or, again, wealthy people sometimes argue that, if higher wages were paid to bricklayers and miners, for instance, they will only spend the extra money on amusements, such as the cinema and football pools; yet these same people may defend their own expenditure on amusements and luxuries on the ground that they are giving employment.

Miss Stebbing also quotes the well-known example of special pleading from Archdeacon Paley's *Reasons for Contentment addressed to the Labouring Part of the British Public*, part of which runs:

But no man can rest who has not worked. Rest is the cessation of labour. It cannot, therefore, be enjoyed, or tasted, except by those who have known fatigue. The rich see, and not without envy, the refreshment and pleasure which rest

affords to the poor, and choose to wonder that they cannot find the same enjoyment in being free from the necessity of working at all.

Archdeacon Paley is saying here, in effect, that a poor labouring life is (for various reasons) a good thing; but at the same time he enters an implied "special plea" on behalf of the rich, since obviously these arguments are not intended to apply to them. As Miss Stebbing says, the poor "may have found it difficult to believe that the rich, who showed no eagerness to become poor, were in fact envious of the conditions imposed by poverty."

To come to the second of the questions at the beginning of the article, a syllogism is a group of three statements, of such a kind that if the first two (the premises) are true, then the third (the conclusion) must also be true. For example:

All grass is green.

This plant is grass.

Therefore—This plant is green.

One of the reasons why one should be able to recognise a syllogism is that it enables one to see what *isn't* a syllogism. We have all heard arguments like this:

I read in the paper that John Jones had knocked down an old woman and stolen her money.

John Jones is a negro.

Therefore all Negroes knock down old women and steal their money.

When written out in this way, the argument is obviously absurd. But it is on this level that very much political argument is carried on, and one has to be prepared to see it for what is, and to counter it.

As for averages, it has to be remembered that while they are useful in summarizing information in some cases, in others they may well mislead. Suppose, for example, that in one group of eleven people, ten received £500 a year, and one £5,000 a year. It could be concluded

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY

The best introduction to the Socialist Party's case obtainable from SPGB, 52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4

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that they all had enough to live on, because the average income of these eleven people is over £900. But, of course, that would be totally misleading. The average used here is what is called the "arithmetic mean"—that is, the figure obtained by adding up all the items in the group and dividing by the total number of items. A much better idea of the realities of the situation could be obtained by taking the mode, that is the item in the group that occurs most frequently, or the typical representative of the group. In the above group, the mode income is £500 a year, since ten of the eleven people in

the group receive it. But very often the newspapers or political speakers use the arithmetic mean where the mode would be more appropriate, to try to prove, for example, that we "all" spend fantastic sums per week on tobacco, or drink, or gambling, and that therefore we must "all" be very well off.

Miss Stebbing covers all these and many other points of logic. She was not a Socialist. But she wrote a book which will be read with profit by anyone who wishes to train himself to think clearly.

A. W. E.

Organisation Man

Are you fond of literature and music? Would you put your wife and children before your work? Do you feel unhappy about the way society is organised?

Yes? Then it's unlikely you've the makings of a good Organisation Man—one of the fast-expanding army of junior and middle managements men in American Big Business.

William H. Whyte, an American journalist with an interest in sociology, puts him under the microscope in *The Organisation Man*, published by Penguin Books in a 3s. 6d. edition. He reveals a picture of co-operation with conformity.

The typical O.M., a college graduate with a strong technical bias, sinks his individual identity into the group. He thinks, talks and acts like the collective. "Don't question or query things, accept them; be technically efficient, co-operate with the Company, and you'll be looked after" is the philosophy peddled by his "benevolent" boss.

At work, he trains as a "dedicated" specialist in a team of "dedicated" specialists, toes the Company line, and wins promotion through personality tests—"Do you agree foreigners are dirtier than Americans?"—designed to determine his ability to integrate himself in the Organisation.

At home, a mortgaged-to-the-hilt house in a "model" suburb, he and his wife participate actively in local affairs and just about make ends meet on a perpetual overdraft.

Whyte is worried about the O.M.'s loss of individuality; he calls it "a surrender to dehumanised values." He's worried, too, about the growing emphasis on specialisation at the expense of a broad, liberal education.

But both factors are not peculiar to

American capitalism, or, for that matter, to Big Business.

First, unorthodox thought which questions the social system has never been popular with capitalists anywhere, be they large or small. And today the bigger capitalists in Western Europe, as well as America, strive to sidetrack criticism of the system among their executives with the carrot of Company cars, expense accounts, special allowances and top-hat pension schemes.

Second, scientific and technological skills are of vital importance to the advanced industrial nations in their cut-throat competitive struggles. A knowledge of higher mathematics produces more profits than a knowledge of Greek mythology.

Whyte urges the O.M. to fight back, but "not selfishly or stupidly," and certainly not with the aim of changing society. Like every reformer, he has no real quarrel with capitalism which breeds conformity and an education system shackled to the profit motive.

He has yet to understand that only in a society liberated from the profit motive can man develop his individuality and knowledge to serve the common good.

P. L. J.

Books Received

THE READERS GUIDE, Editor: Sir William Emrys Williams.

Penguin Books (5/-).

THE ORGANIZATION MAN, by William H. Whyte.

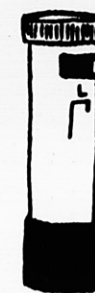
Penguin Books (3/6).

THE GATHERING STORM, by Winston S. Churchill.

Penguin Books (7/6).

AN ATLAS OF WORLD AFFAIRS, by Andrew Boyd.

Methuen (6/6).



**SOCIALIST
STANDARD**

Meetings

FILMS AT HEAD OFFICE

52, Clapham High Street, S.W.4.
Sundays, 7.30 p.m.

December 4th.
"OVER THE HILL."
Speaker: H. Baldwin.

December 11th.
"LOCAL 100"
Speaker: T. Lord.

December 18th.
"IN THE FACE OF JEOPARDY"
Speaker: C. Devereux.

January 1st.
"CAN WE BE RICH?"

EALING LECTURES.

Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, near Ealing Broadway, 8 p.m.

Friday 9th December
"FOOD & NUTRITION"
Speaker: M. Evers.

HACKNEY LECTURE.

Bethnal Green Town Hall (Room 3).
Wednesday, 7th December, 8 p.m.
"UNDERSTANDING v. LEADERSHIP."
Speaker: H. Baldwin.

ISLINGTON.

Co-op. Hall, 129, Seven Sisters Road, N.7.
Thursday, 15th December, 8 p.m.
Lecture: "FEUDALISM."
Speaker: V. Phillips.

WEMBLEY LECTURE.

A series of Historical Lectures, Wembley Branch, Barham Old Court, Barham Park, Harrow Road, Wembley.

Monday 12th December, 8 p.m.
"11th CENTURY EUROPE."
Speaker: L. Dale.

GLASGOW MEETINGS.

Room 2, Door G, St. Andrew's Hall, Berkeley Street.

Sunday, 4th December, 7.30 p.m.
"MARCH OF RUSSIAN CAPITALISM."
Speaker: J. Higgins.

Sunday, 11th December, 7.30 p.m.
"WHY SOCIALISTS OPPOSE THE COMMUNIST PARTY."
Speaker: T. A. Mulheron.

Sunday, 18th December, 7.30 p.m.
"CHALLENGE TO OPPONENTS."
A Meeting at which opposition Political Parties are invited to accept our challenge.
Speakers: D. Donaldson and R. Donnelly.



Party News

WEMBLEY

Wembley Branch has continued with its series of very interesting historical lectures, given by members of the Branch. These talks have stimulated good discussion and have been advertised in the local press. Current details are given elsewhere in this issue. Canvassing of the SOCIALIST STANDARD is a regular feature of the Branch activity and some very worthwhile results have been obtained. At present, the order stands at 18 dozen copies per month, and it is hoped to expand sales gradually in the future.

The efforts of the Branch press correspondent have met with some gratifying success. The local paper has published write-ups of our meetings and lectures and, just recently, featured in full a letter on the question of rents and housing. The comrades were very encouraged to see this, particularly as the Editor took the trouble to inform his readers, in a footnote, that we were not connected with the Labour Party.

On December 17th, Branch comrades are running a Social at Ealing Park Tavern, South Ealing Road, W.5. Tickets are available from the Branch Secretary at 3s. 6d. each and the usual arrangements are in hand, including a band, and free refreshments. We look forward to a very happy get-together.

BRITISH COLUMBIA

Last month under the title, "News from Canada," we stated that the application of the Victoria Branch of the Socialist Party of Canada for an open-air speaking spot in a park has been refused. It appears that the local council have evidently relented, for we now learn that the Branch is holding outdoor meetings in Beacon Hill Park.

We have received some cuttings from Victoria local papers, with pictures of our comrades in action, and a statement that 200 attended their first meeting—including active hecklers.

One local paper had this to say:—

The inauguration of Victoria city's own Hyde Park proved itself a great success Sunday afternoon. A very respectable crowd in both size, interest and behaviour braved rain, mud and buzzing model planes to listen to the ideas of the Socialist Party of Canada, the thoughts of a philosopher's philosopher, and an appeal to give more blood.

These meetings should give a well deserved fillip to the efforts of our energetic comrades in Victoria.

COVENTRY

Our comrades in Coventry are organising a Group. Will members and sympathisers in the area contact P. Boylan at 71, Ford Street, Coventry. Already the nucleus of members has accomplished a lot, and with the added enthusiasm from other comrades, it will be possible to pave the way to the formation of the "Coventry Branch."

THE "STANDARD"

How do you obtain your copy of the SOCIALIST STANDARD? At a meeting, a newsagent, a Branch? From a friend, street seller or casual acquaintance? No matter which, there is only *one* way to be certain of *regularly* receiving your copy each month—and that is by subscribing. For 7s. 6d. a year the SOCIALIST STANDARD will be posted direct to you at the beginning of each month. Complete the form on page 191 and be certain of receiving the SOCIALIST STANDARD throughout 1961.

SWANSEA

The newly-formed Swansea Branch have held a public meeting in the Central Library; we will report on it next month.

P. H.

.....
Wembley Branch.

Grand Xmas Social

Joe's Band.
Licensed Bar.
Free Refreshments.

SATURDAY, 17th DECEMBER

7.30 p.m.-11.30 p.m.
Ealing Park Tavern, South Ealing Rd., W.5 (near South Ealing Underground).
Admission 3s. 6d. (Ticket only.)
Tickets available from R. G. Cain, 48, Balfour Road, W.13.

Debate

SOCIALISM OR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT?

Thursday 22 December
7.30 to 10.30 pm
129 Seven Sisters Road, N.7

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